

proof of Alexander's moderation in his pleasures, of which Arrian⁹ wishes to persuade us, and is not calculated to authenticate what Montesquieu asserts. "He" was close and reserved in his private expences————In regulating his household, he was the private Macedonian."¹⁰ It seems extraordinary, that this acute and penetrating writer should have imagined Alexander found the means of augmenting his power by his strict frugality, and of furnishing himself with resources from his private œconomy. Such perhaps might have been the case when he first commenced hostilities against the Persian empire, and his policy, and even his necessities pointed out to him a line of conduct very different from that, which he followed after the battle of Gaugamele. From this period of his life, he displayed a luxurious parade and pomp, which equally insulted the severer manners of his own country, and the misfortunes of the people that he had conquered. Nothing had perhaps hitherto reached the magnificence on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Persian women. No less than ninety-two nuptial beds were prepared in one spacious chamber, and the coverture of each was valued at twenty minæ.¹¹—Alexander's was distinguished by feet
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⁹ "Χρημάτων δὲ ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ, φειδωλοτάτῃ· ἐς δὲ εὐπορίαν τῶν πτελας, ἀφθονωτάτῃ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--543.

¹⁰ "Sa main se fermoit pour les depenses privees————falloit-il regler sa maison? C'etoit un Macedonien." Montesquieu de l'Esprit des Loix, Livre 10. C. 14.--200.

¹¹ Nugent's Translation. Vol. 1.--214.

¹² 64℥. 11s. 8d. Sterling.

of solid gold.—All the courtiers and a great number of strangers were invited to the entertainment on this occasion, and it was given in a tent, supported by columns nearly thirty feet in height, plated with gold and sparkling with jewels and precious stones. ^v The ablest tragedians and comedians, and most celebrated musicians assisted at the festival, and Athenæus hath preserved their names which he extracted from Chares, as well as the particulars that have been mentioned. ^w

Plutarch hath endeavoured to frame some little excuse for Alexander's adoption of the manners and habits of the nations that he conquered, and attempts to justify him, by saying, the dress which he made use of was a medium between that of Persia and of Media. ^x

I I 2

But

^v “Χαρῆς δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἱστορίων, ὅτε φησιν, εἶλε Δαρείον, γάμους συνετελεσθῆναι ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν φίλων ἐνεγκόντα καὶ δύο θαλάμους κατασκευασαμένῳ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ· ἣν δὲ ὁ οἶκος ἑκατόντα κλινῶν, ἐν ᾧ ἕκαστῃ ἦν κλίνη, κεκοσμημένη γόλῃ γαμικῇ εἰκοσι μῶν ἀργυρῶν, ἥ δὲ αὐτὴ χρυσοπῆς ἦν· συμπερὶ λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, καὶ τῆς ἰδιοξενῆς ἅπαντας· καὶ κατεκλινεν ἀντιπροσώπων ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νυμφίοις τὴν τε λοιπὴν δυνάμιν, πρὸς τὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν, καὶ τὰς πρῆστορας, καὶ τὰς παρῆπιδήμεντας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. κατασκευασθὲν δὲ ὁ οἶκος πολυτελὲς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀθονίοις πολυτελεσθῆναι· ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα πορφύροις καὶ φοινικοῖς χρυσοφύειν· τῷ δὲ μένειν τὴν σκηνὴν ὑπέκειντο κίονες εἰκοσαπήχεις περιχρυσοὶ καὶ διαλιθοὶ καὶ περιἀργυροὶ· περιεβέβληντο δ' ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πολυτελεῖς αὐλαὶ ζωῶν, καὶ διαχρυσοὶ, κανόνας ἔχοντες περιχρυσῆς καὶ περιἀργυρῆς· τῆς δὲ αὐλῆς ἦν τὸ περίμετρον σταδιοὶ τεσσαρες.” Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

^w “Les plus habiles historiens et les musiciens celebres.” The band, according to Athenæus, (Lib. 12.--538, 539.) consisted of the “Θαυματοποιοὶ, Ραψῳδοὶ, Ψιλοκιθαρισταί, Αὐλῶδοι, Αἰληταί, Διονυσόκολακες, Ἀλεξάνδροκολακες, Τραγῳδαί, Κωμῳδοί, Ψαλταί,” and some chorus-singers and vocal performers. The historians are not mentioned, and I have omitted them. The Baron de St. Croix may have perhaps included them under the Ραψῳδοί.

^x “Ἐνδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν γόλῃν, εἴτε βεβλόμενῳ αὐτὸν συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὥς μὲν πρότερον ἡμερῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ συνηθεῖς καὶ ὁμοφυλὸν· εἴτ' ἀποπειρᾶ τις ὑφείτο τῆς προσκυνησίως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδόν-
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proof of Alexander's moderation in his pleasures, of which Arrian⁹ wishes to persuade us, and is not calculated to authenticate what Montesquieu asserts. "He^r was close and reserved in his private expences————In regulating his household, he was the private Macedonian."^r It seems extraordinary, that this acute and penetrating writer should have imagined Alexander found the means of augmenting his power by his strict frugality, and of furnishing himself with resources from his private œconomy. Such perhaps might have been the case when he first commenced hostilities against the Persian empire, and his policy, and even his necessities pointed out to him a line of conduct very different from that, which he followed after the battle of Gaugamele. From this period of his life, he displayed a luxurious parade and pomp, which equally insulted the severer manners of his own country, and the misfortunes of the people that he had conquered. Nothing had perhaps hitherto reached the magnificence on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Persian women. No less than ninety-two nuptial beds were prepared in one spacious chamber, and the coverture of each was valued at twenty minæ.¹—Alexander's was distinguished by feet
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I I 2

But

^v “Χαρης δ'εν τη δεκατη των περι Αλεξανδρον ιστοριων, οτε φησιν, ειλε Δαρειον, γαμης συνετελεσιν εαυτη, κ̃ των αλλων φιλων ενενηκοντα κ̃ δυο θαλαμης κατασκευασαμεν̃ εν τω αυτω τοπω· ην δε ο οικ̃ εκατοντακλιν̃, εν ω εκαστη ην κλινη, κεκοσμημενη σολη γαμικη εικοσι μινων αργυρων, η δε αυτη χρυσοπης ην· συμπεριλαβ̃ε δε εις το συμποσιον, κ̃ της ιδιοξενους απαντας· κ̃ κατεκλινεν αντιπροσωπης εαυτω τε κ̃ τοις αλλοις νυμφιοις την τε λοιπην δυναμιν, πεζην τε και ναυτικην, και τας πρεσβειας, και της παρεπιδημεντας εν τη αυλη. κατασκευασ̃ο δε ο οικ̃ πολυτελως και μεγαλοπρεπως ιματιοις τε και οθονιοις πολυτελεσιν· υπο δε ταυτα πορφυροις και φοινικοις χρυσαφισιν· τη δε μενειν την σκηνην υπεκειν το κιονες εικοσαπηχεις περιχρυσοι κ̃ διαλιθοι κ̃ περιαργυροι· περιεβεληντο δ'εν τω περιβολου πολυτελεις αυλαιαι ζωωτοι, και διαχρυσοι, κανονας εχουσαι περιχρυσας κ̃ περιαργυρας· της δε αυλης ην το περιμετρον σαδιοι τεσσαρες.” Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

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^x “Ενεδυσατο την βαρβαρικην σολην, ειτε βελομεν̃ αυτον συνοικειν τοις επιχωριοις νομοις, ως μεγα πρ̃οιξημερωςιν ανθρωπων το συνηδες κ̃ ομοφυλον· ειτ' αποπειρα τις υφειτο της προσκυνησεως αυτη τοις Μακεδο-

But the Conqueror carried his extravagance much further, and Iphippus of Olinthus relates, that he sometimes appeared at these festive entertainments in purple, with the horns of Jupiter Ammon, and that he was drawn in a car with a Persian mantle over his shoulders, and the quiver of Diana at his back. Amongst his friends he appeared sometimes like Mercury, with feathers to his heels and a Caduceus in his hand, which he exchanged for the lion's skin and club of Hercules.^y "Hills and mountains," observes Plutarch, "are not easily taken by stratagem or ambuscade, but a weak mind, swollen big and lofty by fortune, birth, or the like, lies naked to the assaults of every mean and petty aggressor."^z Alexander was soon captivated with the grossest flattery, and his despotic temper prevented his friends from approaching him either with freedom or sincerity. Maximus Tyrius seems to indicate,

σι, κατα μικρον ανασχεσθαι την εκδικοτησιν αυτην κ̃ μεταβολην επιζομενοις· εμην την γε Μηδικην προσηκατο πανταπασιν, βαρβαρικην κ̃ αλλοκοτον εσαν, εδε αναξυριδας, εδε κανδυν, εδε τιαραν ελαβεν, αλλα εν μεσω τινα της Περσικης κ̃ της Μηδικης, μιξαμεν̃ ευπως, ατυφοτερων μεν εκεινης, ταυτης δε σοβαρωτερον εσαν."

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

γ "Εφιππ̃ δε φησιν, ὡς Αλεξανδρ̃ κ̃ τας ἱερας εσθητας εφορει εν τοις δεηπνοις, ὅτε μεν την τε Αμμων̃ πορφυριδα, κ̃ περισχιδεις κ̃ κερατα, καβαπερ ὁ Θε̃· ὅτε δε κ̃ της Αρτεμιδ̃, ην κ̃ επι τη ἄρματ̃ εφορει, πολλακις την Περσικην γολην ὑποφαινων ανωθεν των ωμων, το τε τοξον κ̃ την σιβυνην· ενιοτε δε κ̃ την τε Ἑρμη τα μεν αλλα σχεδον—————εν δε τη συνουσια τα τε πεδιλα, κ̃ τον πετασον επι τη κεφαλη, κ̃ το κρησκευιον εν τη χειρι, πολλακις δε λεοντην κ̃ ροπαλον ὡσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλης." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--537.

^z Plutarch's Morals. Vol. 2.--135. 8^{vo} Edit. 1704. "Των μεν γαρ τοπων τα ὑψηλα δυσπροσода και δυσεφικτα γενοντο τοις επιβηλευοισι· το δε εν ψυχῃ νην εκ εχουση δι' ευτυχιαν η δι' ευφουαν ὑψ̃ και φρονημα, τοις μικροισ και ταπεινοισ μαλιστα βασιμον εσι." Plutarch. De Adul. et Amic. Discrim. Tom. 2.--65.

cate, that this was one principal reason of the rapid progress, which adulation made amongst the Macedonians. “When fear and tyranny prevail, adulation,” in the words of the philosopher, “regularly flourishes, and friendship descends into the grave.”^a Iphippus of Olinthus informs us, that Alexander’s best friends were under the necessity of applauding what they could not approve; and in those riotous excesses, which tarnished the Prince’s glory, they observed a profound silence, from the apprehension of increasing his outrageous passions, or affording him any pretext to indulge his favourite propensity of shedding human blood.^b Lucian assures us likewise, that calumny and flattery had a ready access to the Macedonian Monarch;^c and Anaxarchus, to console him for the murder of Clitus, defended in his presence the execrable maxim that justice had no other rule than the will of kings.^d “This miserable Sophist was one of the most distinguished of the infamous band of Medeus, that arch parasite and enemy to the Macedonian nobility, and chief of all that numerous train which Alexander entertained in his court. This man taught his disciples to

^a “Οπου γὰρ δεὸς καὶ ἐξῆστια δεσποτικὴ τὸ ἀρχομενὸν ἀγχοῖ ἀνάγκη δευρὸ κολακείαν μὲν ἀνθεῖν, φίλιαν δὲ καταρῶρυχθαι.” Maximus Tyrius. Tom. 1.--393. Ed. Reiske. 8^{vo} Lips. 1774.

^b “Εὐφημία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχε πάντας ὑπὸ δέης τῆς παρόντας· ἀφορητὸν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ φονικόν.” Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

^c “Ἡ γὰρ κολακεία καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μάλιστα χώραν εἶσχε πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῃ παθόντι συντιθεμένη.” Lucian. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--150.

^d “Τὴν δίκην εἶχε παρὲδρον ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ παραχθέν ὑπὸ τῆς κρατῆντος δειμιτον ἢ καὶ δίκαιον; τοιούτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμεντος Ἀναρχοῦ, τὸ μὲν παθόντι ἐκμήρισε τὴν βασιλείαν, τὸ δὲ θεὸς εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον ἢ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.

to slander boldly, and push home their calumnies; for though the wound might probably be cured and skinned over again, yet the teeth of slander would be sure to leave a scar behind them: by these scars (or to speak more properly) gangrenes and cancers of false accusations, fell the brave Callisthenes, Parmenio, and Philotas, whilst he himself became an easy prey to an Agnon, Bagoas, Agefias and Demetrius, who tricked him up like a barbarian statue or antick, and paid the mortal, the adoration due to a God."^e This gloomy picture of the effects of adulation on Alexander's conduct, must notwithstanding be correct, as it comes from the hand of Plutarch. It may be more easily relied on, as he is always disposed to palliate the Macedonian Monarch's excesses, and would willingly persuade us, that he courageously resisted the sollicitations of Agnon and Philoxenus, when they would have seduced him into some unnatural sensuality.^f But admitting these sycophants

to

^e Plutarch's Morals. Vol. 2.--134, 135. "Ἦν δὲ ὁ Μεδίῳ τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον χορῇ τῶν κυλακῶν οἶον ἐξαρχῶ, καὶ σοφίης κορυφαίῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους συντεταγμένῳ· ἐκέλευεν ἂν θάρσυντας, ἀπτεσθαι καὶ δακνείν ταις διαβολαῖς, διδασκῶν ὅτι καὶ θέραπευσε τὸ ἔλκῳ ὁ δεδηγμένῳ, ἢ ἕλη μὲναι τῆς διαβολῆς. ταῦταις μὲν τοῖς ταῖς ἑλαιοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ γαγγραιναῖς, καὶ καρνικωμασί διαβρωθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀπώλεσε καὶ Καλλισθένη, καὶ Παρμενίωνα καὶ Φίλωταν· Ἀγνώσι δὲ καὶ Βαγῳαῖς καὶ Ἀγησίαις καὶ Δημητρίοις ἀφειδῶς ἐνεδῶκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑποσκελίζεσθαι, προσκυνημένον καὶ κατασολιζόμενον καὶ ἀναπλατίζομενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἀγαλμα βαρβαρίζον." (Plut. De Adult. et Amici. Discrim. Tom. 2.--65.) Monsieur de Theil hath added to his translation of this part of Plutarch's Works, some curious observations upon the ancient Parasites.

^f "Φιλοξένῳ ————— ἐγράψεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ Θεόδωρον τινὰ Ταρντινόν, ἔχοντα παῖδας ὡνιῆς δύο, τὴν οὖν ὑπερφύεις, καὶ πυνθανομένῳ εἰ πρὶν ἔσται, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκῶν, ἔδοα πολλακίς πρὸς τῆς φίλης, ἐρωτῶν τι πῶποτε Φιλοξένῳ αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ συνεγνώκως, τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἶδη προξένων καθήτα· τὸν δὲ Φιλοξένον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλαὶ λοιδόρησας, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον εἰς τὸν ὀλεθρὸν ἀποσελλεῖν· ἐπιπλήξεν δὲ καὶ Ἀγνώνι νεανίσκῳ, γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι Κρωβύλον εὐδοκίμηντα ἐν Κορινθῷ, ἔχεται περιάμενῳ ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--676, 677.

to have had the power of exciting the Prince to the destruction of his ablest generals, and most faithful friends, we may easily conceive their influence must have been as fatal, when they offered to him new symptoms of criminal debauchery.

The shameful passion of the Greeks for unnatural vices⁸ was a matter of public notoriety, and little doubt can remain of the infamous commerce between the Macedonian Monarch and the Eunuch Bagoas. Dicearchus informs us, that he embraced him in the most lascivious and indecent manner in the theatre, before a crowded audience, which far from blushing at the scandalous transaction,

⁸ Some learned men have endeavoured to rescue several of the great characters of Antiquity from this detestable suspicion, (See Toup. Appendicula Not. atque Emend. in Theocritum. 26. ---Potter's Grecian Antiq. Book 4. C. 2. Vol. 2.--390.---Philo. De vitâ contemplativâ,---Max. Tyrius. Differt. 8, 9, 10, 11.---Hist. of Athens. 321.) and to explain away the appendant tribe of young men and boys, celebrated for their beauty, that constantly clung around them. Many virtuous individuals must certainly have risen superior to the general depravity, and the young men, under their patronage, must have been trained up to every thing that was good or great; but whilst such practices and such premiums existed, as Moschus and Theocritus have described,

“Και παιδων ἐδίδασκε φιλαματα”————

Moschi Idyll. 3.--84.--28. Oxon. 8^{vo} 1748.

“Αἶε δὲ περὶ τυμβῶν ἀολλεες εἶασι πρῶτῳ
Κηροὶ ἐριδμῶνσι φιλημάτων ἀκρὰ φρεσίναι·
Ὅς δὲ κε πρῶσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερᾳ χεῖλεσι χεῖλη
βριθομένων σεφανοῖσεν ἔην πρὸς μητέρ’ ἀπηνδεν·
Ὀλβίῳ ὅσις παῖσι φιλήματα κείνα δαίτα·
Ἡ πῃ τὸν χαροπὸν Γανυμήδεα πολλ’ ἐπιβώσκει,
Λυδῇ ἴσον ἔχειν πετρεῖ σῶμα”————

Theocrit. Id. 12.--30. Tom. 1.--55. Oxon. 4^{to} 1770.

it is in vain to combat, by any arguments, the “Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον” and the profligacy of those licentious times. Athenæus tells us, without equivocation, “Ὡς δὲ τῆς παιδικῆς ἐρώτας τῶν ἐπιταῖς δηλαῖς προκρίνῃσι πολλοί,” and he adds, to shew its notoriety, “Παρά γὰρ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ταῖς εὐνομιμέναις πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδ’ σπενδασθῆναι το δὲ το εἶθ’.” (Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--601.) There is not a more infamous acknowledgment upon Record!

transaction, testified its satisfaction by a very general applause.^h The severe observations of Orsines, respecting this Eunuch, in Q. Curtius,ⁱ evidently prove the unnatural connection between his master and the Catamite; but the Latin historian, with unaccountable inconsistency, afterwards asserts, that Alexander in his sensual gratifications had not strayed beyond the bounds of nature, or wandered into forbidden paths.^k

Alexander's humanity to the nations, that he conquered, hath been boasted of, but it is sometimes problematical. Many actions of his life demonstrate to a certainty, that in the latter period of his reign he had forgotten the clemency, with which in an early stage of glory and of victory, he had soothed the misfortunes of the different people, over whom he triumphed. Vanity and political finesse might have perhaps suggested to him
such

^h "Φιλοπαις δὲ ἦν ἐκμανὼς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δικαιοκράτῳ γένει ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας, βαλὼν τὴν εὐνοῦχον ἕως αὐτὸν φησὶ ἤρασθαι, ὥς ἐν οὐκ εἶθεατρῇ ὅλῃ καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλασάντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνήσαντων μετὰ κροτῆ καὶ ἀπειθήσας, πάλιν ἀνακλασας ἐφίλησεν." Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--603.

ⁱ "Les reproches qu'Orsines fait dans Quinte Curce à cet eunuque." I have made a trifling alteration in the sense of this sentence, as the only reproach, which Orsines personally made to Bagoas was the "Audieram in Asiâ olim regnasse Feminas; hoc vero novum est, regnasse Castratum." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--755.) To a friend, who wished to put him on his guard against the Eunuch's machinations, with more caustic acrimony, he had previously observed, "Amicos regis, non scorta se colere." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--752.

^k "Veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla nisi ex permissio voluptas." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--786.) I am utterly unable to reconcile the "Naturale desiderium" with the "Bagoæ spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--751.

such a laudable and advantageous line of conduct, at the outset of his military career, and the mask dropped when it was no longer necessary. True virtue, which really springs from the heart, seldom varies, but continues to animate the bosom, until it ceases to throb itself. The devastation of the country of Sambus,¹ and that of the Pathalians;^m the burning of the city of the Agalaffians;ⁿ the crucifixion of the Indian prince Musicanus,^o and the

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punishment

¹ “Εξῆς δὲ τὴν τε Σαμβὺ βασιλείαν ἐξεπορεύθη καὶ τὰς πλείους πόλεις ἐξανδραποδίσταμεν καὶ κατασκαπ-
σας, κατέκοψε τῶν Βαρβαρῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς οκτὼ μυριάδας.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--239.

^m “In proximam gentem Pathaliam perventum est. Rex erat Mæris, qui urbe deferta in mon-
tes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agrosque populatur.” (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C.
8. Tom. 2.--729.) Under the same circumstances, perhaps the modern rules of war would au-
thorize the same treatment. Arrian gives a very different account of the business. “Ὁ δὲ κατὰ
διώξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπεμψας τῆς στρατίας τῆς κουφοτάτης, ὥστε τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπεμπεῖ τού-
της παρὰ τῆς ἀλλῆς, ἐντειλαμένους ἐπαινιέναι θάρρυντας· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὡς προσθεν, καὶ τὴν
χωρὰν ἐργάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐπαγγέλλοντες πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.” Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 18.--443.

ⁿ “Τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν ἐγχωρίων συναθροισθέντων, δισμυρίης μὲν καταφυγοντας εἰς πόλιν μεγάλην κατὰ κρά-
τος εἶλε· τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν διαφραζάντων τῆς γενέσεως, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων μαχομένων ευρωσῶς, βιάζομενος ἀπέβαλε τῶν
Μακεδόνων οὐκ ολίγους· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμπαρήσας τὴν πόλιν, συγκάτεκαυσε τῆς πλείους.” Diod. Sicul.
Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--235.

^o This unfortunate Indian prince had neglected, according to Arrian, the following duties ei-
ther to Craterus, or his Royal master, “Οὕτω ἀπηντήκει αὐτῷ Μυσικανός, ἐνδίδους αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν χωρὰν,
οὔτε πρεσβεῖς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπέμπει, οὔτε τι οὔτε αὐτῷ ἐπέπομπει, ἃ δὴ μεγάλῳ βασιλεὶ εἰκῶ, οὔτε τι ἡτήκει
ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--439.) These offences were however afterwards
forgiven, on the several expectations being fully gratified, and the Prince had his territories re-
stored to him. A citadel was notwithstanding built in the Prince's capital, and Craterus had the
command of it. “Ὅτι ἐπιτηδεῖον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χωρίον εἰς τὸ κατέχεσθαι τὰ κυκλῶ ἔθνη φυλαττομένα.”
(Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--440.) Whether Musicanus was dissatisfied with, or ill treated
by this Grecian garrison, we are not told, but he withdrew himself and soon appeared in arms.
The issue of the contest was soon decided, and the Indian prince was brought a prisoner by Pytho,
who

punishment of many Brahmins, whose only crime had been that of encouraging their countrymen to defend their liberty and laws; and, in a word, the destruction of many Indian cities, which had the courage either to oppose or retard the projects of the Macedonian Monarch, are not the most decisive specimens of his clemency.

After having granted terms to one of these cities and accepted its surrender, he fell upon a part of the garrison in its march, and slaughtered the whole of the detachment. Plutarch, from whom the fact is borrowed, admits it to have been a disgraceful stain in his Hero's ^p life, and he confesses also, that the Macedonian Monarch put, with his own hand, Orsidades to death, who had revolted against him, by piercing him with darts. ^q

Alexander's

who had been sent against him. The remainder of his history, is summed up by Arrian in a few lines. "Και τουτον κρεμασαι Αλεξανδρῳ κίλευει εν τη αυτη γη, κ̃ των Βραχμανων ὅσοι αιτιοι της αποστασεως τῳ Μυσικανῳ κατεσησαν" Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 17.--442.

^p "Après avoir accordé la paix a une ville Indienne, ce prince retourne bientôt sur ses pas entre dans cette malheureuse cité, et en massacre tous les habitans." The following passage in Plutarch is referred to, "Επει δε των Ινδων ὁι μαχιμωτατοι μισθοφορευντες επεφοιτωνται πολεσιν, ερρωνμενως αμυνοντες, κ̃ κατα πολλα τον Αλεξανδρον εκακοποιουν, σπεισασμεν εν τινι πολει προς αυτους, απιοντας εν ὁδῳ λαβων, ἀπαντας απεκτεινεν κ̃ τητο τοις πολεμικοις εργοις αυτη, ταλλα νομιμως κ̃ βασιλικως πολεμησαντῳ, ὡς κηλις προσεσιν" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tόm. 1.--698.) I need not, I apprehend, point out the propriety of the alteration.

^q "Και των αποσαντων Βαβυλων Ορσοδατην αυτῳ κατετοξευσεν" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--697.) The Baron de St. Croix, in all likelihood, overlooked the passage in Plutarch, where Alexander ordered that quarter was not to be given, merely from political motives. "Φονον μεν ουν ενταυθα πολυν των ἀλικομενων γενεσθαι συνεπεισεν" γραφει γαρ αυτῳ ὡς νομιζων αυτω τητο λυσιτελειν, εκελευεν αποσφαττεσθαι της ανθρωπης". De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--686.

Alexander's cruelty is strongly marked by the pointed energy of the Scriptural expression, which hath lost much of its original force in its transition into another language.* The profane writers have, notwithstanding, concealed and kept back from public view the representation of the bloody scenes, which passed at a distance, though the truth sometimes escapes them, and Arrian honestly avows his inclination for very severe, as well as disproportionate punishments.†

The Gentoo annals mention the Conqueror of Asia, and have bestowed on him the terms of "most mighty robber and murderer,"‡ but most of the Oriental traditions have supposed him to have been beneficent and humane. Yet the Indians in all probability formed their opinions from comparisons, and the misery, which

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they

* "Interfecit" is employed by the Vulgate, and our English version hath, "he slew the kings of the earth." Neither of these expressions may possibly convey the full sense of the "εσφαξε," the Greek word "σφαζω" or "σφαττω" being properly rendered, "maſto, jugulo, immolo."

† "L'inclination qu'Alexandre avoit pour les executions fanguinaires." "Ου μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐτερεῖ λέγεται γενεσθαι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πῖστευσαι τε τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις, ὥς πῖθανοις δὴ ἐν παντί οὖσι· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμωρησασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἐξελεγχθέντας." Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 4. --483.

‡ "Mhaahah, Dukkoyt é Kooneah." (Holwell's interesting Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal, Part 2, 4.) We learn also from Chardin, that "les Parfes ou Guebres au lieu d'admirer ce Prince, et de reverer son nom, comme font tant d'autres peuples, le meprisent, le detestent, le maudissent, le regardent comme un pirate, un brigand, comme un homme sans justice et sans cervelle, né pour troubler l'ordre du monde et pour detruire une partie du genre humain." Voyages en Perse, Tom. 2.--185. Ed. 4^{to}

they personally suffered, might have recalled their attention from that, which their ancestors had experienced under the Macedonian arms. Since the reign of Mahmoud in the eleventh age, who subdued India, and treated the natives with the rigour of an exasperated conqueror, and the inhumanity of a fanatic, these mild and inoffensive people have been accustomed to the horrid ravages of war, and to an unvarying repetition of pillage, flames, and bloodshed. Such were the certain and terrible effects of the different invasions of their country, and reasoning from these scourges of human life, they considered Alexander as a conqueror of extraordinary moderation, and even attributed to him the most remarkable and magnificent monuments in that vast country.^w The Persians, however, had serious and substantial reasons to consecrate the Macedonian Monarch's memory in their annals. When he became possessed of the Persian empire, prosperity had not corrupted him with its baneful influence, and the Conqueror of Darius treated his new subjects with a gentleness and lenity, till then unknown, under any violent change of government. But the condition of Persia was not improved, and it received no benefit or advantage whatever from the Grecian conquest. It continued to be governed by a despot, and suffering the vexations of rapacious officers, was also exposed to every shock of the succeeding revolutions, without having either its chains loosened, or their galling weight diminished.

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^w Zend-Avesta, par Anquetil, Tom. 1.--392.

Q. Curtius hath been accused,^{*} with injustice, of having written the panegyric of Alexander rather than his life, as the ingenious writer hath both frequently brought forward, and stated with impartiality, his faults and crimes. The Prince, he says, abandoned himself, after the change in his character, to a system of voluptuousness, and though the Persians could not prevail against him, he was conquered by his own vices.[†] Feasts, festivals, and games, became the common occupations of the Conqueror of Asia, who passed whole nights in drunkenness and debauchery.[‡] The same historian, in another part of his work, informs us, that Alexander's character was totally altered, and that the moderation and continence, which he had professed, were succeeded by intemperance and pride. His palace was filled with three hundred and sixty concubines, and the guard of the seraglio was composed of a troop of Eunuchs.[§] These anecdotes, and others of the same tendency, that are suppressed, are not usually introduced into a panegyric; and

* Clerici Judicium de Q. Curtio. 9.

† “Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus, militarium rerum quam quietis otique patientior; exceperere eum voluptates; et quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt.”

Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

‡ “Intempestiva convivia, et perpotandi pervigilandique infana dulcedo, ludique et greges pellicum.——intempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret; satietatem epularum ludis interpolabat.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

§ “Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit, continentiamque et moderationem, in altissimâ quâque fortunâ eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam, et civilem habitum, velut leviora magnitudine suâ ducens; Persicæ regiæ, par Deorum potentiæ fastigium æmulabatur. Jacere humi venerabundos pati cœpit.

and we cannot rationally suppose from them, that Alexander, even in the conflagration of his passions, was conducted by the flash of reason, that Montesquieu^b hath spoken of, “which those who would fain make a romance of his history, and whose minds were more corrupt than his, could not conceal from our view.”^c

Q. Curtius is undoubtedly alluded to, and he little deserves such a farcastic animadversion, for having faithfully exposed the conduct of this Prince.

Notwithstanding the charge of an unjustifiable partiality for the Macedonian Monarch in Q. Curtius, he may be suspected, on the contrary, of having imagined some circumstances, that have affected his reputation. The death of Orsines is of the number. This illustrious Persian, of high birth and dignity, made some presents, as we are told, to the Conqueror of Asia, and the principal courtiers, amongst whom Bagoas was either omitted or forgotten. The exasperated Eunuch could not pardon the indignity, and in revenge for the supposed affront, he accused Orsines of the
pillage

cæpit.——superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur.——Pellices C. C. C. et sexaginta, totidem qui Darii fuerant, regiam implebant, quas spadonum greges, et ipsi muliebria pati adfucti, sequebantur.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--424——426.

^b “Qui ceux qui avoient voulu faire un Roman de son histoire, et qui avoient l’esprit plus gaté que lui n’ont pu nous dérober.” *L’Esprit des Loix, Lib. 10. C. 13. Tom. 1.--196.*

^c Nugent’s Translation, Vol. 1.--210.

pillage of the tomb of Cyrus, and assured his Royal Master, that the embezzled plunder, amounted to three thousand talents. The funeral monument was directed to be opened, and as it contained only two Scythian bows, a fabre, and a crown of gold, the Eunuch had the address to persuade Alexander of the truth of his assertions, and the unfortunate Persian was led to execution.^d

The relation however of Q. Curtius, does not agree with that of any of the other historians.—Plutarch informs us, that Polymachus was condemned to death for the pillage of the tomb of Cyrus^e; and Strabo believes a band of robbers were the authors of the crime, as they destroyed what they could not carry off.^f Arrian pretends, that the Magi, who had the care of this monument, underwent the torture, though no discoveries were derived from it.^g The last historian speaks afterwards of the punishment of Orfines, who had the government of Persia after the death of Phrafaortes, and was convicted of extortion, and of having plundered

^d The story is told at some length, and with many interesting circumstances, by Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--751—755.

^e “Ἐπειτα τον Κυρη ταφον διορρωγυμενον, απεκτεινε τον αδικησαντα. Και τοι Πελλαιῶν ην ου των ασημοτατων ο πλημμελησας, ονομα Πολυμαχῶν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.

^f “Προνομευτων εργον ην, ουχι του Σατραπεου, καταλιποντων α μη δυνατον ην ραδιως ικκομισαι.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061, 1062.

^g “Αλεξανδρῶ δε ξυλλαβων της Μαγης της φυλακας τη ταφῃ εσεβλωσεν, ὡς κατειπεν της δρασαντας. οἱ δε ητε σφων ητε αλλη κατειπον σεβλῃμενοι, ηδε αλλη πη ξυντλεγοντο ὑπερ-της τῷ εργῷ.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--473.

hath transmitted to us. “Whoever thou art, and whensoever thou comest, for come thou wilt, I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire; envy me not the little earth that covers my remains!” The modesty of this inscription, in all probability, suggested to Xenophon a hint for his speech of Cyrus, a few moments before he expired.^m “My children, when I am no more, neither enclose my body in gold nor silver, commit it as soon as possible to the earth, for there cannot be a greater happiness than to mingle with the dust.”

By the Persian customs, their kings had only the honour of sepulchres,ⁿ and their tombs, which are still existing, are situated to the East of the mountain of Istakhar, and have no resemblance with that, which Aristobulus hath described, no more than those of Naxi-Rustan.^o The sacred wood, with which he surrounds the tomb of Cyrus, betrays the falsity of the description. This

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ΚΥΡΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ 'Ο ΠΕΡΣΑΙΣ ΚΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ· ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΙΓΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΦΘΟΝΗΣΗΣ, 'Η ΤΟΥΜΟΝ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΙ.” (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.) Strabo (Lib. 15.--1062.) and Arrian (Lib. 6. C. 29.--472.) vary the concluding sentence of this epitaph. The former reads “Μη ε φθονησεις,” and the latter “Μη ε φθονει μοι τε μνηματ@.” which is more consistent with the relation of Aristobulus. Perhaps, however, the whole is a mere fiction.

^m “Το δ'εμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μὴτε ἐν χρυσῷ, θήτε, μὴτε ἐν ἀργυρῷ, μὴδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μὴδενί· ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς ταχίστα ἀποδοτε· τί γὰρ τούτῃ μακαριώτερον, τῇ γῇ μιχθῆναι.” Xenophon. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--658. 4^{to} Oxon. 1727.

ⁿ Hyde. De Religione Veterum Persarum. C. 34.

^o See the observations of Monsieur Caylus, Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 29.--144.—Voyages de Le Bruyn. Tom. 4.--393.—Chardin. Tom. 2.--162.

mode of burial was not in use in Persia, and the Grecian custom of interring their dead in shady groves^p is introduced amongst a people, who were utter strangers to such rites. The pretended riches in the tomb of Cyrus have also been imagined from the common tales, which Aristobulus incautiously adopted. Q. Curtius hath taken care to undeceive us, and we are told by him, that Alexander expressed his surprise, on finding such a powerful monarch as Cyrus, had been interred with so little magnificence and pomp.^q

Arrian informs us, that Cambyfes committed the custody of his father's Mausoleum to the Magi, who received a daily allowance of a sheep, a measure of flour, and one of wine, and every month a horse, which composed the sacrifices to the shades of Cyrus.^r

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^p Vangoens. Diatribe de Sepotaph. C. 4, 5, 6.

^q "Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat, quippe ita fama Persæ vulgaverant; sed præter clypeum ejus putrem, et Arcus duos Scythicos, et acinacem, nihil reperit. Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui adfueverat ipse, solium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit; miratus tanti nominis regem, tantis præditum opibus, haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--754.) I have omitted the "Alexandre, selon cet ecrivain, en reconnut la fausseté," as I am not able to discover any direct authority for this opinion, and such an acknowledgment would have left Alexander no pretext whatever for the punishment of Orsines, which Q. Curtius immediately relates. The crafty Eunuch naturally took advantage of his Master's surprise, which might arise even from his disappointment, and the unity of the piece, whether real or fictitious, is by these means preserved.

^r "Εἶναι δὲ ἐν τῷ τε περιβόλῳ, πρὸς τὴν ἀναβάσει τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φέρουσαν, οἰκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μαγοῖς πεποιημένον, οἱ δὲ ἐφυλάσσον τὸν Κυρῆ τάφον, ἐπὶ ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τε Κυρῆ, παῖς παρὰ πατρὶ ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν. Καὶ τοῦτοῖς προβάτων τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλεως, καὶ αλευρῶν τε καὶ οἴνου τεταγμένα, καὶ ὅππῃ κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρῶ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--471.

This account is certainly erroneous. The Persians never admitted their departed heroes into the number of their Deities, but their religious opinions are as incorrectly spoken of in Q. Curtius. Darius there sacrifices to the local Divinities of Cilicia,^s and Arrian^t is equally exceptionable, when he supposes Jupiter to have been addressed by the Persians, who were neither acquainted with his name nor worship. In their defence, it may be observed, that they were perhaps seduced by the most celebrated authors of antiquity, who were as ignorant and mistaken on the subject of the religion of this people.^w

Harpalus escaped by flight, and avoided the punishment which Orsines suffered. This Macedonian officer, during the life of Philip, had been intimately connected with his Son, and when Alexander mounted the throne, he had the treasury under his direction.

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^s "Ipse in jugum editi montis adscendit, multisque conluentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium Diis præsidibus loci fecit." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--110.

^t "Επι τοις δε ανατειναι Δαρειον ες τον Ουρανον τας χειρας, η ευξασθαι ωδε. Αλλ'ω Ζευ βασιλευ, οτω επιτετραπται νεμειν τα βασιλεων πραγματα εν ανθρωποις, συ νυν μαλιστα μεν εμοι φυλαξον Περσων τε η Μηδων την αρχην, ωσπερ ην η εδωκας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

^w The Greeks, as the Baron de St. Croix very justly observes, wished to impose their religious tenets ("Faire helleniser en matiere de religion" is his expression) on all the nations of the earth. In the happy possession of arts, sciences, and literature, with a singular absurdity, they both invented and propagated the strangest inconsistencies; and with a few grains of allowance, the reproach of Lactantius, to one of their first-rate authors may be transferred, without much apprehension of impropriety, to their writers of almost every class. "Quorum lævitas instructa dicendi facultate et copiâ incredibile est quantas mendaciorum nebulas excitaverit." (De Falsâ Religione. Lib. 1.) If we are to believe the modern travellers, the Greeks of our days have not degenerated.

direction. But the gratitude of Harpalus was not equal to the new Monarch's patronage and confidence, and listening to the pernicious counsels of Tauriscus, he misbehaved in such a manner, that, from apprehensions of personal danger, he fled to Megaris, a little before the battle of Issus.* Alexander pardoned him, prevailed on him to return,^y and after placing him at the head of his finances, again intrusted him with the treasury at Ecbatana.^z It is necessary to state these facts with accuracy, which Arrian hath preserved, because they throw a degree of light on the conduct of Harpalus, with which the other historians have not furnished us. All of them suppress his first offence, which should be specified, to prevent its being confounded with the crime, of which he was afterwards guilty. The news of the rigid and exemplary chastisement, that Alexander had inflicted on the governors, convicted of extortion and oppression in the provinces during his absence, had already reached the ears of Harpalus, whose conduct was not free from censure and suspicion. Unable to face the gathering

* "Ολίγον δε προσθεν της μαχης της εν Ισσω γενομενης, αναπεισθεις προς Ταυρισκου Ἀρπαλῶ, φευγει ξυν Ταυρισκῳ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

y "Ἀρπαλῶ δε εν τη Μεγαριδι φυγη ην· αλλ' Ἀλεξανδρῶ πειθει αυτον κατελθειν, πεισεις δους ουδεν αυτω μειον εισεσθαι επι τη φυγη· ουδε εγενετο εωανελθοντι, αλλ' εως των χρηματων αυθις εταχθη Ἀρπαλῶ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

z "Προσεταιξε τα χρηματα τα εκ Περσων κομιζομενα, εις την ακραν την εν Εκβατανοις καταθεσθαι, ις Ἀρπαλῶ παρχδουναι." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 19.--227.) It is difficult to decide on the greatness of the indiscretion, or the generosity of such a confidence: we might be tempted, in the words of Valerius Maximus, to make the vigorous exclamation, "O! fiduciam non solum fortem sed pene etiam temerariam, quæ,—acerrimis odiis latera sua cingere ausa est, usumque ministerii vix tutum in amicis, & sinu inimicorum petere sustinuit." Lib. 3. C. 7.

thering storm, this guilty and ungrateful minister again fled with an escort of six thousand men, that he entertained in his pay, and took refuge at Athens, with a part of the immense treasures that he had embezzled.^a Q. Curtius relates,^b that the Macedonian Monarch “received letters of advice, that Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, and by large sums gained the chief citizens; notwithstanding which, in an assembly of the people, he had been commanded to leave the town, whereupon he retired to the Greek soldiers, who seized him, and that he was afterwards treacherously killed by a certain traveller.”^c It is extraordinary that a prisoner, and surrounded by a body of troops, should have been assassinated by an unknown traveller, and little credit is certainly due to such an anecdote.

Harpalus was undoubtedly obliged to quit Athens, as Diodorus Siculus assures^d us, and we may easily conjecture from the circumstances,

^a “Ἄρπαλός τε τῶν ἐν Βαβυλὼνι θησαυρῶν καὶ τῶν προσοδῶν τὴν φυλακὴν περιεστειμένῳ, ἐπειδὴν ταχίστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐξστειύσειν, ἀπεγὼν τὴν ἐπανοδὸν αὐτῷ· δὲ δ’ ἐαυτὸν εἰς τρυφὴν, ————— το μὲν πρῶτον εἰς ὕδρεις γυναικῶν καὶ παρρημῶν ἐρωτὰς βαρβάρων ἐξείραπτο· καὶ πολλὰ τῆς γαζῆς ἀκρίβειαις ἡδοναῖς κατηνέλωσεν· ————— τὸ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανοδὸν πολλὰς τῶν σατραπῶν κατηγορηθέντας ἀνέλκντο, φέροντες τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ συσκειυσάμενῳ ἀργυρίῳ μὲν τετρακτὰ πέντακισχιλία, μισθοφοροὺς δ’ ἀριθμῶς ἑξακισχιλίας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ κατεπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.) The five thousand talents, according to Lempriere’s calculation, amount to £968,750, of our money.

^b “Literæ ei redduntur; Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliaffe sibi principum animos: mox concilio plebis habito iussum urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites pervenisse, a qui us interceptum et trucidatum a quodam viatore per insidias.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 2.--760.

^c Digby’s Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--174, 175.

^d “Ἐξαιτῶμεν δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀντιπατρός καὶ Ολυμπιάδου, καὶ πολλὰ χρημάτων διαδὸς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημογρομιστητοῖσι, διέδρα.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

stances, which Plutarch mentions on the exile of Demosthenes, that he was not attended by his men to Athens.^c When he left this city, he joined them at Tænarus in Laconia, where they had been stationed,^d and he afterwards retired into the island of Crete, where Thimbron, one of his associates, who afterwards possessed himself of Cyrene, retaliated his treason on him, and slew him.^e This Thimbron was certainly the traveller of Q. Curtius, and he is guilty of an anachronism, in fixing the death of Harpalus before that of Alexander. Arrian asserts, that the faithless treasurer of the Macedonian Monarch survived his master, and Diodorus Siculus may possibly add some strength to his evidence.^h The saying

^c It is a reasonable inference from Plutarch's silence, who mentions only Harpalus. The history of his reception at Athens merits some attention. "Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥητορὲς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θάλαμῳ πάντες πρὸς τὸν πλετόν, ἐβόηθον, καὶ συνεπιθόντες Ἀθηναίους δεχέσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἵκετήν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελαυνεῖν συνεβόλευσεν τὸν Ἀρπαλόν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαιῆς καὶ ἀδίκῃ προφασέως." Twenty talents, however, (£3974) and a cup of great value, totally changed the question, and the trimming Orator, by a convenient hoarseness, had the next day lost his voice. The wits of Athens termed it a Silver Quinsy. "Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὐ καὶ καλῶς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖναις κατὰ τὴν τραχέλου κατελιξάμενός, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσηλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λέγειν, διενευσεν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς φωνῆς· οἱ δ' εὐφροὺς κλυεύζοντες, καὶ ὑπο συνάγκῃς ἐφραζον, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' Ἀργυραγχῆς εἰληφθαι νυκτὶ τὸν Δημαγωγόν." De Vit. Demost. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--857.

^d "Κατήρεν εἰς Ταίναρον πρὸς τῆς μισθοφορῆς."—He had before expressly said, "τῆς δὲ μισθοφορῆς ἀπελίπε πρὸς Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

^e "Διαλαμβάνει δὲ ὡς Θίβρων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀρπαλόν (τὸν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῃ χρηματά, ζώντός ἐκείνου, ἀρπασάντα, καὶ φυγόντα πρὸς τὰς Ἀθῆνας) τήτον ἐκεῖνός ἀποκτείναν, καὶ ὅσα ἀπελιπέτο λαβὼν χρηματά πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐσάλη." Photii Biblioth. 217.

^h Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.—The Baron de St. Croix's expression is, "Il est démontré par le témoignage de Diodore et d'Arrien." I have been under the necessity of lowering its import, as Diodorus Siculus does not demonstrate what the Baron de St. Croix imagined. He takes up again the history of Harpalus in the eighteenth book, but without fixing the precise time

faying also of Diogenes, who died in the same year with Alexander, which Cicero¹ hath left us, confirms the account of the Greek historian. The Cynic philosopher made a practice of citing Harpalus, as an instance of the inattention of the Gods, and reproached them with their long connivance at the happiness and good fortune of the traitor.—The expulsion of Harpalus from the Attic territories, may be dated in the third year of the 113th Olympiad, in the Archonship of Chremes,^k two years before the death of Alexander. Usher^l supposes, with some probability, the assassination of Harpalus to have happened the year after his Master's death, and 323 years before Christ, when Cephisodorus was Archon. The Jesuit Petau^m includes the flight and death of Harpalus in the same year, but he relies on Arrian and Diodorus Siculus for his authority, and Arrian directly contradicts him.—Alexander's intention of returning into Europe, is not mentioned by

time of the events which he relates. “*Ἀρπαλὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δρασμὸν ποιήσας, κατελυσαντὶ εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλωκαμεν, Θιμῶρων εἰς τῶν φίλων νομιζομένῳ, δολοφονήσας τὸν Ἀρπαλόν, κυρίως ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐτῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων*” (Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--272.) From this passage it might even be supposed that Harpalus was assassinated soon after his escape into Asia.

¹ “Diogenes quidem Cynicus, dicere solebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illâ fortunâ tam diu viveret.” Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, Lib. 3. Tom. 2.--514.

^k Corlini. Fast. Attic. Tom. 4.--40.

^l Usserii Annales. 215. Folio. Genev. 1722.

^m Petav. Doct. Temp. Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--597. “L'autorité de Diodore et d'Arrien sur lesquels il s'appuye lui sont absolument contraires.” I have varied the expression for it was not warranted.

by any historian, Q. Curtius excepted, and its execution must have been at that time very prejudicial to the Prince's interest, who had just met with a severe misfortune in the loss of Hephæstion, and was in great affliction for him. We are told by some authors that Glaucias, the unfortunate physician was crucified,ⁿ that Alexander conducted in person the car, which conveyed Hephæstion's remains to the tomb, and that the temple of Æsculapius at Ecbatana, was by his orders razed to the ground. It is also said, that the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was applied to, and consulted on the propriety of divine honours to the Favourite.^o It is however doubtful, if Æsculapius was known at Ecbatana, and Arrian hath judiciously rejected these absurd marks of regret, which he considers as indecent in a Sovereign, and more adapted to the character of a Barbarian.^p

Plutarch and some other writers,^a appear to have compiled these

ⁿ “Οἱ δὲ, καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρέμασε, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμακῶ κακῶς δοθέντι·———οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄξιμα ἐφ’ ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο, αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὅτε ἠνίοχει τοῦτο·———ἄλλοι δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἱδὸς ἐν Ἐκβάτανοις κατασκαφῇ ἐκέλευσε.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509, 510.

^o “Οἱ δὲ λεγέσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἀμμωνῷ ἐπεμψεν, ἐρησόμενους τὸν Θεόν, εἰ καὶ ὡς Θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαιστίωνι.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--510.

^p “Οὐδ’ αὖ μὴ πῖσον ἐμοίγε λεγόντες·———Βαβυλωνίαν δὲ τῆτο, καὶ ἡδ’ αὖ μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσφορὸν.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509. 510.) Ælian and Plutarch, whilst they report the facts, admit their impropriety. “Ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενθεὶ Βαβυλωνίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡδ’ αὖ.” (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 1.--486.) “Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν·———ἐδεμίας χαρίτω ἦν ἡδε τιμῆς, οἷον δὲ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπιδείξας εἰς κενὰ καὶ ἀζηλὰ τὴν περιστάσαν διατιθεμένων.” (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--296, 297.) Justin hath also “Quem contra decus regium Alexander diu luxit.” Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.

^a Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 1.--483-487.--Luc. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--147, 148.

these fables without any judgment, but the Greek philosophical historian assures us also, that Alexander levelled the battlements and parapets on the walls of the neighbouring cities, and cut off the hair of the horses and mules.^r This last species of mourning is not in the least improbable, as it was a Persian custom, which he might have followed, and the army of Mardonius, from the same respectful motives, clipped their horses and other beasts of burthen on the death of Mafistius.^s Diodorus Siculus^t informs us, that Alexander went still farther, and commanded the Asiatics to extinguish their sacred fire, which was only customary on the decease of the kings of Persia. This writer adds likewise, that Hephæstion died from the consequences of intemperance at Ecbatana,^w and not at

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Babylon,

^r “Αλεξανδρῷ ὁ μέγας, Ἡφαισιωνῷ ἀποθανόντῳ, ἡ μόνον ἵππῃς ἐκείρε καὶ ἡμίονους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπαλξείας ἀφείλε τῶν τειχῶν, ὥς ἂν δοκοίεν αἱ πόλεις πειθεῖν.” (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1. --296) “Τὺτο ὕδενι λογισμῷ το παῖδῳ Αλεξανδρῷ ηνεγκεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς μὲν ἵππῃς τε κείραι πάντας ἐπιπνέει, καὶ ἡμίονους ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ τῶν περὶ πόλεων ἀφείλεν τὰς ἐπαλξείας.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

^s “Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππῃς ἐς τὸ στρατοπέδον, πνέοντῳ ἐποίησαντο Μασισίῃ πᾶσα τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδονίῳ μέγιστον σφῆας τε αὐτῆς κείροντες, καὶ τῆς ἵππῃς καὶ τὰ ὑπόζυγια, οἰμῶγῃ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλετῶ.” Herod. Lib. 9.--702.

^t “Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκῆσι προσεταξέ το παρὰ τοῖς Περσῶσι ἱερὸν πυρ καλεῖμενον ἐπιμελῶς σῆσαι, μέχρι ἀντέλῃ τὴν ἐκφορὰν· τῆτο δὲ εἰωθεῖσαν οἱ Περσῶν ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλείων τελευτάς.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250.

^w “Διηγύσιν εἰς Ἐκβάταναν τῆς Μηδίας·—ἐν οἷς Ἡφαισιων ἀκαιροῖς μεθαις χρησαμίνῳ, καὶ περιπίσων κερῶσιν, τὸν βίον κατέλιπεν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--247.) Plutarch is rather more circumstantial. “Ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάταναν τῆς Μηδίας·—εὐτυχὲς δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας Ἡφαισιων πνεύσων· οἷα δὲ νεῖ καὶ στρατιωτικῷ, ἡ φρενὶ ἀκριβὴ διαίτην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαυκὸν ἀπελ-
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Babylon, which was reported,^{*} as appears from Polyænus.^y The details, into which Diodorus Siculus hath entered, respecting the pompous funeral, that Alexander bestowed on his Favourite, and the sumptuous monument, which he erected to his memory, are liable to less objection, as they agree with the rules of art.^z Iphippus of Olinthus, composed a work on the deaths of Alexander and Hephæstion,^a and Diodorus Siculus appears to have extracted his information from it.

The Conqueror of Asia advanced towards Babylon, and the deputies of numerous and distant nations, met him with congratulations on his different successes. Lybians, Carthaginians, Brutians, Lucanians, Tuscans, Scythians, Celts, and people, who had scarcely ever heard of the Macedonian name, hastened to offer their homage^b to the Conqueror of the East, or rather to his fortune.

θειν εις το θεατρον περι αριζον γενομενον, η καταφαγων αλεκτρονα εφθον, η ψυκτηρα μεγαν εκπιων οινον, κακως εσχεν, η μικρον διαλιπων απεθανεν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

^{*} “Comme Justin et Polyen l’ont fausement avance.” I have been again under the disagreeable necessity of deviating from the French sentence. With respect to Justin, the charge is totally without foundation. “Dum hæc aguntur, unus ex amicis ejus Hephæstion decedit,” (Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.) is his account of the Favourite’s death, in which Babylon, is neither mentioned nor referred to.

^y “Ηκειν τις αγγελων Ηφαισιων εν Βαβυλωνι τεθνηκεν.” (Polyænus. Lib. 4. C. 3.--354.) I flatter myself the “Ηκειν τις αγγελων” will justify the alteration that I have made.

^z Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250, 251.—Hist. de l’Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 31.--76. Their confused ornaments, the Baron de St. Croix hath, notwithstanding, already criticised.

^a Athenæus. Lib. 4. Tom. 1.--146.

^b “Babylonem ad Alexandrum ex omnibus fere orbis terrarum partibus legati venerunt. Nam præter eos quos Asiæ nationes, civitates et principes miserant; etiam multi ex Africâ et Europâ legati

fortune. Diodorus Siculus^c declares in general terms, that the inhabitants of the extensive country, between the northern sides of the Adriatic gulph and the pillars of Hercules, dispatched ambassadors to him. Aristus and Asclepiades,^d have left an account of the audience given to the Roman envoys, and tell us, that Alexander, having learnt from them many particulars, relating to their government and manners, predicted the future greatness of the Roman empire. Clitarchus adopted, with his usual credulity, the embassy.^e Arrian suspects it with reason,^f and gives

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little

gati accefferunt. Ex Africâ, ab Hammoniis, Æthiopibus, Carthaginienfibus cæterisque Pœnis, et cunctis qui mare usque ad Columnas Herculis accolebant. Ex Europâ, a Græcorum civitatibus et Macedonibus, Thracibus, Illyriis et Scythis, Brutiis quoque Lucanis, ac Tuscis Italiam colentibus, Siciliæ et Sardiniaë insulis; ab Hispanis etiam ac Gallis, quorum nomina ac cultum tum primum Macedones cognoverunt.” Ufferii Annales. 207.

^c “Χωρίς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν, καὶ πόλεων, ἐτι δὲ Δυναστῶν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης κατηντήσαν· ἐκ μὲν Λιβύης Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Λιβυφοίνικες, καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν παραλίον οἰκῶντες μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στήλων.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--249.

^d “Ἀριστοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀναγραφάντων, καὶ Ῥωμαίων λείβουσιν ὅτι ἐπρεσβεύσαν· καὶ ἰντυχόντα ταῖς πρεσβείαις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐσομένης ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα δυνάμειος μαντεύσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τὸν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλοπονεῖν τε καὶ ἐλευθερίον, καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀμα διαπυνθανόμενον.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.

^e “Clitarchus——legationem——ad Alexandrum missam.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--324.

^f “Καὶ τὸτο ὅτε ὡς ἀτρέκεις, ὅτε ὡς ἀπίστον παντὶ ἀνεγράφα· πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης, ὡς παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σαλευσῆς, μνημὴν ἐποίησατο τίνα, ὅδε τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γεγραμμένων (οἷς τίσι μαλλὸν ἐγὼ ξυμπεριμαί) Πτολεμαίῳ ὁ Λαγὺς καὶ Ἀριστοβουλῷ· ὅδε τῷ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματι ἐπεοικῶν, ἐλευθερῷ δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μαλιστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλεῖα ἀλλοφυλόν, ἀλλῶς τε καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας πρεσβεύσαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐξαναγκάζοντο, ὅτε κατ’ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μισοῖ τε, εἰπερ τίνας ἀλλῆς, τὴ τυραννικῆς γενεῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ κατεχομένους.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.) Titus Livy is of opinion, that even the Fame of Alexander’s exploits, had not reached Rome. “Quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse.” Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--908.

little credit to this strange catalogue of people, supposed to have sent deputies to Alexander, which he only speaks of as a common report, deserving no attention in his work. The refutation of fables does not fall within the province of history, it ought to be founded only on an assemblage of truth or probabilities: a critical examination of facts, is the scaffolding of the building.

Amongst the projects, which Alexander had in view after his return from his Indian expedition, Q. Curtius supposes one very apposite to the character of the Macedonian Monarch, but the means of carrying it into execution, can only have been imagined by the Latin historian. The governors of Mesopotamia, as we are told by him, were ordered to cut down the wood on mount Libanus, from whence it was to be transported to Thapsacus. A number of seven oared vessels were designed to be constructed there, and they were afterwards to drop down to the sea by Babylon,^z and to form a Macedonian fleet. Thapsacus was situated on the Euphrates, at the distance of four thousand eight hundred stadia from Babylon, according to the calculations of Hipparchus, but Eratosthenes reduces the distance,^h and the former writer afterwards

^z “Mesopotamiæ prætoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte cæsa, devesaque ad urbem Syriæ Thapsacum, ingentium carinas navium ponere: septiremes omnes esse, deducique Babylonem.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--749, 750.

^h “Απο Βαβυλωνος εις Θαψακον ειναι σταδιες τετακισχιλις οκτακοσις” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--130.) This seems to have been the opinion of Hipparchus: Eratosthenes differs with him. “Ουτ’απεφηνατο υδαμει Εξατοσθινης την Θαψακον της Βαβυλωνος προς αρεκτους κεισθαι πλειοσιν η τετρακισχιλιοις κ’ πεντακοσιοις

wards reckons three thousand stadia, from Babylon to the mouths of the Euphrates.ⁱ Reasoning from nautical principles, on the proportions, which the ancients allowed to their seven oared galleys,^k they must have drawn thirty-nine feet eight inches of water, nearly what the modern three deckers of 100 guns require, and it is not possible to believe that in the Euphrates, at such a distance from the sea, there could have been a depth of water for vessels of that burthen. At this distance also from the sea, the assistance of the tide to float them must undoubtedly have been wanting. Polybius^l informs us, that the Euphrates was very low in winter, though it was increased in the summer-months from the melting of the snow upon the mountains; but as the water of the river, during the heat of summer, was diverted into a thousand channels, for the purpose of refreshing the country, the stream of the Euphrates could be scarcely navigable, and still less adequate to the transport of troops, and the various stores and implements of war.

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πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--131.) The Baron de St. Croix supposed them to have agreed.

ⁱ “Εντευθεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου ————— τρεῖς χίλιαι” Strabo. Lib. 2.--134.

^k Scheffer. De Milit. Nav. Vet. Lib. 1. C. 4.

^l “Συμβαίνει, τὴν ὑπεραντιαν φύσιν εἶναι τὴν τοῖς πλεῖστοις τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις αὐξάνει τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ οὓς ἀνὸς πλεῖς διαφερόνται τόπους· καὶ μεγίστοι μὲν εἰσι κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ταπεινότεροι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θερέος· ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ πλεῖς γίνονται τὸ ρεῦμα κατὰ Κυνὸν ἐπιτολὴν, καὶ μεγίστῳ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν τοποῖς· αἱ δὲ ποταμῶν ἐλαττώσεις αἰτίον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι συμβαίνει, τὴν μὲν αὐξήσιν εἶναι ἐκ τῆς συρρυσσεως τῶν χειμερίων ὁμβρίων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀνατήξεως τῶν χιονῶν γίνεσθαι· τὴν δὲ μείωσιν διὰ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὸν μερισμὸν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρδεύσεις. Ἡ καὶ τότε βραδείαν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν κομὴν τῶν δυνάμεων, ἅτε καταγομῶν μὲν οὐτῶν τῶν πλοίων, ταπεινοτάτῃ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τελείως ἔραχυντι συνειργασίας τῆς τοῦ ρευματῶς βίας πρὸς τὸν πλῆν” Polybius. Lib. 9. C. 43. Tom. 3.--181.

The Armenians, on this account, when they descended as low as Babylon, made use of little osier boats which they covered with skins,^m and even in the place, intended for the dock-yard of the seven oared gallees, there was a ford, when the Macedonian army crossed the Euphrates to enter Mesopotamia.ⁿ The whole therefore proves, that the project instead of being Alexander's, was only the imaginary one of Q. Curtius.^o

The predictions of Calanus, of the soothsayer Pythagoras, and those of the Chaldæans, as well as a multitude of other presages, which announced the dissolution of the Conqueror of Asia, have been

^m “Τὰ πλοία αυτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἶναι κυκλωτέρεια, πάντα σκυτιναῶ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατυπερθεῖ Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νόμας ἰτέης ταμομένοι ποιῶνται, περιτείνουσι τῆτοις διφθέραις στεγαστρίδας ἐξωθεῖν, ἐδάφεθ' τροπὸν, ὅτε πρυμνήν αποκρίνοντες ὅτε πρυμνήν συναγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδ' τροπὸν κυκλωτέρεια ποιήσαντες, καὶ καλαμῆς πλῆσαντες πάν το πλοῖον τῆτο, ἀπί- ασι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φερεσθαι, φορτίων πλῆσαντες.” Herod. Lib. 1.--92.

ⁿ “Il y avoit au milieu de ce fleuve un gué, lorsque l'armée Macedonienne traversa l'Euphrate pour entrer dans la Mesopotamie.” The Baron de St. Croix, for the proof of this assertion, refers his readers to the seventh chapter of the third book of Arrian. I cannot pretend to reconcile either the “Καταλαμβάνει δυνὸν γεφυραὶν ἐξευγμένον τὸν πορὸν” or the “Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ οὐ ξυνε- χῆς ἡ γεφυρά ἦν ἐξευγμένη ἐς τε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν οὐχθὴν, τοῖς Μακεδόσι δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαίων τῇ γεφυρᾷ, ἵνα ἐπαυετο” with his construction. The “Καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἐφυγε Μαζαίθ', ἐπεβλή- θησαν αἱ γεφυραὶ τῇ οὐχθῇ τῇ πέραν, καὶ διεβῆ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ξυν τῇ στρατίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρ'” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--193.) is in a more peremptory style of contradiction.

^o Yet Aristobulus relates, according to Arrian, the descent of some vessels of burthen from Thapsacus to Babylon. “Κατελαβὲ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβελθ', καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπιπλευκ' ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς·—τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένον, πικτήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινικῶν, τίληρεις δὲ τρεῖς, τρήρεις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντορῆς δὲ εἰς τριακονταῶ· ταυ- τὰς ξυντμηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης εἰς Θαψάκον πολλῶ· ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυμπηχθεῖ- σαι αὐτὰς καταπλεῦσαι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 19.--522, 523.

been represented in melancholy and sombre colours by the historians, to render, according to Plutarch's ideas,^p the last concluding scene of Alexander's life more striking and pathetic, and to give it a tragical effect, both productive of terror and of pity. Such attempts are, notwithstanding, more proper for the stage, as Polybius hath ably remarked in his observations on the death of Agathocles,^q and the historians who related it. The same observations are applicable to the writers of the life of Alexander, though they may be entitled to some indulgence. The incertitude of all sublunary things, hath been, in every age, a favourite subject of mournful declamation, and the sudden and instantaneous exchange of a throne for the dreary grave, is frequently dwelt upon with a gloomy consolation, as it levels all distinctions, and reduces the monarch and the subject to the same equality.

The disastrous omens, which preceded the death of the Conqueror of Asia, were not invented by the historians, and Plutarch is not justified in such suggestions. The different predictions, to which superstition lent afterwards its aid, were circulated with officious industry, by almost all the governors of the conquered provinces; in some instances from motives of interest, in others from apprehensions for their personal security. Conscious of many acts of extortion and
oppression,

^p "Ὅστις δραματῶν μεγάλῃ τραγικὸν ἐξοδίον καὶ περιπαθεῖς πλάσαντες" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

^q Polybius. Lib. 15. C. 33, 34. Tom. 3.--562. The sentiments of Polybius will not admit of abbreviation: by an introduction of them at length, I might offend against the very rules, which the judicious author lays down, in the passages that are referred to.

oppression, that Alexander in similar employments had severely punished, they naturally wished to keep their master at a distance, and to prevent, as long as they were able, his return to the capital, where his leisure would have afforded him an opportunity of investigating their conduct, from which they had every thing to fear. Under these circumstances, Appolodorus of Amphipolis, who had the command at Babylon, prevailed upon his brother Pythagoras the soothsayer to favour his designs, and he discovered, with obsequious ingenuity, portentous appearances in the entrails of the victims, which forbade the Macedonian Monarch's entry into the city.*

The Chaldæan priests had also serious reasons of alarm, and they seconded the governor's endeavours from the same principles, which Arrian hath explained to us. Xerxes, on his return from his unfortunate expedition against Greece, had destroyed the Temples of every denomination at Babylon, and even the celebrated one of Belus, which was immensely rich, had not escaped the general destruction. To this Temple of Belus, the kings of Assyria had annexed considerable demesnes, and a great revenue was set apart to defray the expences of the priests and sacrifices. From the time of its destruction, however, the Chaldæan priests continued in quiet and undisturbed possession of the sums, appropriated for

* “Μηνυσέως γενομένης κατὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου τῆ στρατηγῆς τῆς Βαβυλωνίᾳ, ὡς εἶη περὶ αὐτῆς τεθυμένῳ, καλεῖ Πυθαγόραν τὸν μαντινὸν· ἔκ αὐτῆς δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐρωτήσας τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον· φησάντων δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἦπαρ ἦν αλοῦον, Πάππῳ (εἰπὼν) ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σημεῖον.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 1--705.

for its use; and though Alexander had given orders for the rebuilding of the temple, the work proceeded very slowly in his absence. To give more rapidity to the execution, he had determined to employ his troops in it, and the Chaldæan priests, fearful, both, of being called to account for the sums, which they had received, and being deprived of their future revenues, published many predictions, that the entry of Babylon would be fatal to its new Master, and invented likewise many omens, with the hopes of preventing his approach. *

If Alexander had appeared to have given credit to these prophecies and presages, he must have weakened the belief of his Divinity, which he wished to propagate. His ambition was to pass for an Immortal, and fully sensible of the advantages to be reaped from such a received opinion, both in Greece and Asia, he was little solicitous whether death destroyed the illusion, provided the supposition of it, in his life, impressed the world with awe, and assisted him in the completion of his great designs. Q. Curtius, in Alexander's speech to Hermolaus, hath extremely well developed the Macedonian Monarch's conduct. "It" was ridiculous

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lous

* "Επαινιοντα γαρ εξ Ινδων ες Βαβυλωνα μετα τη στρατη, κ' πλησιάζοντα ήδη παρεκαλουν οι Χαλδαιοι την εισοδον επισχεν εν τω παροντι." (Appian. de Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--853.) "Τινες εντυγχεν αυτω Χαλδαιες, παραινουντας απεχεσθαι Βαβυλωνος τον Αλεξανδρον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--705.

† "Illud pene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut adversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor. An etiam quod Dii respondeant, in meâ potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi:

lous enough in Hermolaus, that he would have had me oppose Jupiter, who thought fit by his Oracle to own me for his son: Do the answers of the Gods depend on me? he was pleased to offer me the title of Son; and I thought, to receive it, would very much contribute to the success of what I had in view; I wish the Indians could be persuaded that I was a God; for war depends much upon Fame, and sometimes a false report believed has had the effect of a truth."^w

The Conqueror of the East often employed the means of Superstition, when they were likely to be serviceable to him, and had frequently recourse to them with success. When he desired to remove a subject, whose fidelity was suspicious, Aristander interpreted one of the Prince's dreams agreeable to his inclination, and Alexander the son of Ærope was dismissed.* The accidental appearance of an eagle was sufficient to reject the opinion of Parmenio,^y and to counteract the influence of this old and able general with the troops. The Greeks were to be intimidated, and their anxiety appeased: a thousand presages immediately announced the destruction of Thebes.

mihi: recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me credant. Fama enim bella constant; et sæpe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit."

Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--615, 616.

^w Digby's *Q. Curtius*. Vol. 2.--90.

* The dream, and the interpretation may be found in *Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 25. --90, 91.*

^y *Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--70, 71.*

Thebes.^z Alexander's emissaries undoubtedly augmented these prodigies, and increased their number in proportion to the effects, which they were intended to produce, but the historians of his life cannot be charged with the invention of them. They might adopt them incautiously without considering how they originated, and they may have applied them to the Macedonian Monarch without examination, but it is time to return to the circumstances which attended his death.

In a fragment of the Ephemerides preserved by Arrian,^a and copied incorrectly by Plutarch,^b we have a daily account of the progress of the Macedonian Monarch's last malady, and its symptoms are so accurately stated, as to render a mistake impossible on the cause of its fatal termination.

Having passed the day with Medius in play, notwithstanding he had a feverish complaint, he indulged himself in eating in the evening.^c Aristobulus relates, that being in a high and burning fever, with a great thirst, he still made free with wine, and a delirium following in consequence of this imprudence, he died the

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^z Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 12. Tom. 2.--821—823.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--167, 168.—Pausanias. Lib. 9. C. 6.--724.

^a Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 25.--537, 538.

^b De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

^c “Διημερευε προς Μηδιον κυβευων· ειτ’οψε λουσαμενθι, κ’ τα ιερα τοις θεοις επιθεις, εμφαγων, δια νικ-
τος επυρεξεν” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

twenty-eighth day of the month Dæsius.^d This account agrees in general with the Ephemerides, with that of Diodorus Siculus,^e and many other authors, though Q. Curtius and Justin persuade us, that Alexander was poisoned. The two Latin historians pretend, that Alexander's successors had power sufficient to stifle the proofs of their guilt, and prevented the communication of it to posterity.^f But a different conclusion may, perhaps, be more rationally

^d “Αριστοβουλῷ δε φησιν αὐτὸν πυρεῖτοντα μανικῶς, διψήσαντα δὲ σφοδρᾶ, πίνειν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ φρενητῖασθαι, καὶ τελευτῆσαι, τριακιδὶ Δαίσιου μηνός.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

^e “Diodorus Siculus mentions the entertainment given by Medius, and adds, that Alexander drank off an Herculan bumper, and was immediately taken violently ill. “Παρεκληθὴ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν φίλων Μήδιον τὸν Θετταλὸν ἐπὶ κομὸν ελθεῖν· κακεὶ πολὺν ἀκρατὸν ἐμφορηθεὶς, ἐπὶ τελευτῆς Ἡρακλέους μέγα ποτηρίων πληρωσας ἐξεπιεν· ἀφνω δὲ, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τίνος πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς πεπληγμένῳ ἀνεξαναξέει μέγα βοήσας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπηλαττίετο χεῖρα γωγυμένῳ.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--252, 253.) Plutarch formally contradicts this assertion, “Οὐτε σκυφὸν Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιὼν, οὐτε ἀφνω διαλγῆς γενομένῳ τὸ μεταφρενόν, ὥσπερ λογχῇ πεπληγὼς.” (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.) and Seneca believes it. (Epist. 83.—Tom. 2. 345. 8^{vo} 1672.) Athenæus is more circumstantial, “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γοῦν αἰτήσας ποτὲ ποτηρίον διχούν, καὶ πίων πρῶπιε τῷ Πρωτέᾳ· καὶ ὅς λαβὼν καὶ πολλὰ ὑμνήσας τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπιεν ὥς ὑπὸ πάντων κροταλισθῆναι· καὶ μετ’ὀλίγον τὸ αὐτὸ ποτηρίον αἰτήσας ὁ Πρωτέας, καὶ πάλιν πίων πρῶπιε τῷ βασιλεῖ· Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαβὼν ἐσώασε μὲν γενναίως, οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ πῶν ἐπὶ κλινῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐπεκλίεν ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφαλαίον, ἀφίει τῶν χερῶν τὸ ποτηρίον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανε.” (Lib. 10.--434.) The “ποτηρίον διχούν” is supposed to have been nearly equal to two gallons.

^f “Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter ministros, Jollam nomine, patris jussu dedisse.—Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum, traditumque fratri Jollæ, et ab eo supremæ regis potioni inditum. Hæc utcumque sunt tradita, eorum, quos rumor adsperferat, mox potentia extinxit.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811—813.) “Amici causas morbi, intemperiem ebrietatis disseminaverunt: re autem vera insidiæ fuerunt, quarum infamiam successorum potentia oppressit.” (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 13.--338.) Diodorus Siculus also relates the same received opinion, and the supposed reasons for the suppression of it. “Φασὶ γὰρ Ἀντιπατρον———διὰ τῆ ἰδίου ὕβης, τεταγμένη περὶ τὸν κυάθον, δυνάμει πίνειν θανάσιμον φάρμακον τῷ βασιλεῖ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πλείστον ἰσχυσάντῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Κασσανδρῷ τῇ ὕβει διαδιδάμενῳ,

onally drawn from such silence. Their mutual dissensions would most probably have given birth to mutual accusations, and each Pretender to the throne would doubtless have found his interest in ruining the character, and blasting the reputation of his rival.

Q. Curtius^s hath given us notwithstanding a detail of this imaginary conspiracy. Alexander had been long dissatisfied with Antipater, and

διαδεξαμενε την βασιλειαν, πολλας συγχαφεις μη τηλμαν γραψαι περι φαρμακειας” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.) Pliny mentions it, and adds with becoming asperity, that Aristotle was very shamefully a Privy Counsellor on the occasion. “Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam, quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ, cum id dandum Alexandro Magno Antipater mitteret, memoria dignum est magna Aristotelis infamia excogitatum.” (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 30. Tom. 4.--769, 770.) For an account of the Stygian water, see Vitruvius. Lib. 8. C. 3.--163. Amst. 1649.

^s Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811—813. Justin hath entered into it more fully. “Auctor infidiarum Antipater fuit, qui cum carissimos amicos ejus interfectos videret; Alexandrum Lyncistam, generum suum occisum; se magnis rebus in Græciâ gestis, non tam gratum apud regem, quam invidiosum esse; a matre quoque ejus Olympiade variis se criminationibus vexatum. Huc accedebant ante paucos dies supplicia in præfectos devictarum nationum creduliter habita. Ex quibus rebus se quoque a Macedoniâ non ad societatem militiæ, sed ad pœnam evocatum arbitrabatur. Igitur ad occupandum regem, Cassandrum filium dato veneno subornat, qui cum fratribus Philippo et Jollâ ministrare regi solebat: cujus veneni tanta vis fuit, ut non aëre, non ferro, non testâ containeretur, nec aliter ferri, nisi in ungulâ equi potuerit; præmonito filio, ne alii quam Theffalo et fratribus, crederet. Hac igitur ex causâ apud Theffalum paratum, repetitumque convivium est. Philippus et Jollas prægustare ac temperare potum regis soliti, in aquâ frigidâ venenum habuerunt, quam prægustatæ jam potioni supermiserunt.” (Just. Lib. 12. C. 14.--338, 339.)—A late noble Author, who, finished his Political career, after basking in the warm sunshine of a Court, by passing through the Torrid Zone of Ministerial Persecution, into the Frozen Region of Oblivion, hath touched in his usual animated manner on the Macedonian Monarch’s character and end. “Alexander had violent passions, and those for Wine and Women were predominant, after his ambition. They were spots in his character, before they prevailed by the force of habit: as soon as they began to do so, the King and Hero appeared less, the Rake and Bully more. Persepolis was burnt at the instigation of Thais, and Cli-

tus

and was believed to have sent Craterus with orders to destroy him. The Macedonian governor escaped the blow, and delivered to Cassander a mortal poison, which he was directed to give his brother Ioalas, the Royal cup-bearer, who was to introduce it into the Monarch's cup. This fable hath afforded grounds for many writers^b to suspect that he died by a violent death, but Arrianⁱ relates the conspiracy, rather that he might not appear to have been ignorant of it, than from any idea of its authenticity.—According to Plutarch, there were not any suspicions that Alexander fell by poison at the time of his death, and they were most probably first circulated by Olympias, who had vowed an eternal hatred to Antipater. Eight years after the death of her Son, to overwhelm with infamy the memory of Antipater, she scattered in

tus was killed in a drunken brawl. He repented indeed of those two horrible actions, and was again the King and Hero upon many occasions; but he had not been enough upon his guard, when the strongest incitements to vanity and sensual pleasures offered themselves, at every moment, to him: and when he stood, in all his easy hours, surrounded by Women, Eunuchs, by the Panders, Parasites and Buffoons of a voluptuous Court, they, who could not approach the King, approached the Man, and by seducing the Man, they betrayed the King. His faults became habits. The Macedonians, who did not, or would not see the one, saw the other; and he fell a sacrifice to their resentments, to their fears, and to those factions, that will arise under an odious government, as well as under one that grows into contempt." (Idea of a Patriot King. Lord Bolingbroke's Works. Vol. 3.--112, 113. 4^{to} 1777.) Whether the Conqueror of Asia died in consequence of his own intemperance, or fell by poison, is one of those Problems, on which there may be still much Argument exhausted without conviction.

^b Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 5. C. 29. Tom. 1.--272. 4^{to} 1744.—Dion. Chrysoft. O-rat. De Fort.—Sext. Emp. contra Grammat. Lib. 1. C. 12.—Pausanias. Lib. 8.--636.—Tacitus. Annal. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--121, 122. 4^{to} Paris. 1771.

ⁱ "Και ταυτα εμοι, ως μη αγνοειν δοξαιμι μαλλον οτι λεγομενα εστιν, η ως πρις ες αφηγησιν αναγεγραφ-θω." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 27.--542.

in the wind the ashes of Ioalas, who had been unjustly accused of having distributed the fatal potion.^k Under the pretence also of punishing his accomplices, she put to death a multitude of persons, equally the victims of her vengeance and caprice.

The Royal diary reports the death of Alexander, on the twenty-eighth day of the month Dæsius, of the Macedonian year, which answers to the month Thargalion, the last of the Attic year.^l This important event may be then ascertained to have happened at the end of the first year of the 114th Olympiad, when Hegesias was Archon, 430 years after the foundation of Rome, and 324 before Christ. Alexander was thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty-two days old, when he died, instead of thirty-two years and eight months, three days excepted, according to Aristobulus,^m and he reigned twelve years and eight months.ⁿ The Jesuit Pettau fixes, without authority, the death of Alexander, at the commencement of the first year of the 114th Olympiad.^o Corfini^p hath

^k “Φαρμακείας δὲ ὑποψίαν αὐτικά μιν ἔδεις εἶχεν. Ἐκτῷ δὲ εἴτῃ φασὶν μηνύσεως γενομένης, τὴν Ολυμπιάδα πολλὰς μὲν ἀνελείν, ἐκρίψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ιοάλας τεθνηκοῦσας, ὥς τιθετο τὸ φαρμακὸν ἐγγχεάντων.”

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--707.

^l “Ἐτελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τεταρτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ολυμπιάδι, ἐπὶ Ἡγησίᾳ Ἀρχόντῳ Ἀθηναίων.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

^m “Ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριακοντα ἔτη, καὶ τὴν τρίτην μῆνας ἐπελάβεν οὐκτώ, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλῳ.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

ⁿ “Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

^o Petavius De Doctrin. Temper. Tom. 2.--859.

^p Corfini. Fact. Attic. Tom. 4.--50—54.

hath refuted the opinion with great ability, and with a force of reasoning that wants no assistance.

Are we to believe the writers of Alexander's life, who have assured us, that he did not name a successor, and that he replied only in general terms, when his inclinations were consulted on the future government of his empire, that he left it to the most worthy and deserving?⁹ A declaration of this kind appears at first to be contradicted by the Book of Maccabees, but the disagreement may possibly be explained away, without either doubts of that part of the sacred writings, or a violation of critical consistency.

We learn from the Book of Maccabees, according to the Vulgate,^r with which the Greek text^s and the Syriac version correspond,

⁹ "Querentibus his, cui relinqueret regnum? respondit ei, qui esset optimus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "'Οι δὲ καὶ ταῦτε ἀνεγρᾶψαν, ἐρεσθαι μὲν τῆς ἐταιρῆς αὐτοῦ, ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει· τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Κρατίῳ.'" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 26. --540.) "Cum deficere eum amici viderent, quærunť, quem imperii faciat hæredem. Respondit, dignissimum." (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 15.--341.) "Τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτῶντων, τινὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπεις; εἶπε, τῷ Κρατίῳ." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

^r "Et post hæc decidit in lectum et cognovit quia moreretur. Et vocavit pueros suos nobiles, qui secum erant nutriti a juventute, et divisit illis regnum suum, cum adhuc viveret." 1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.

^s "Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ ἐκάλεσε τῆς παιδᾶς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξῆς τῆς συντροφῆς αὐτῆ ἀπὸ νεότητος, καὶ διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ." (1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.)—For an explication of the "Παιδᾶς" or "Pueros," see Menochius. Comment. Script. Tom. 2. Ed. Aven. 356.

respond, that Alexander, “fell sick, and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.”¹

The general meaning of this passage hath been differently understood by various commentators; but it may be placed, notwithstanding, in a new light, by a few simple observations. The expression, “he parted his kingdom among them,” may be taken in a more restricted sense than it hath usually been understood, and may signify that Alexander divided his empire amongst his great men as Satraps, without any intention of distributing to them their respective districts, as Sovereigns of so many little and detached kingdoms.—We read in the eighth and ninth verses of the first chapter of the first Book of Maccabees, that. “His servants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves.”^w This account perfectly ascertains the conduct of the Macedonian Monarch’s successors, who first extending their power, secured themselves by the deaths of their competitors, and then proclaiming themselves kings, usurped the Royal diadem. The text of Scripture clearly discriminates two facts. Alexander’s choice of many of his grantees to govern the different parts of the kingdom, and their usur-

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¹ 1. Maccabees, Chap. 1. Verses 5, 6.

^w “Και επεκρατησαν οι παιδες αυτη εκαστος εν τω τοπω αυτη· Και επεθεντο παντες διαδηματα μετα το αποθανειν αυτον, η οι υιοι αυτων οπισω αυτων ετη πολλα.” 1. Maccab. C. 1.--8, 9.

pation of Royalty, after the death of the Macedonian Monarch, who had no ideas of wresting the sceptre out of the hands of his descendants. If the author of the Book of Maccabees had intended to insinuate, that Alexander's choice carried along with it the right of mounting the throne, he would not undoubtedly have distinguished in such a decided manner the emblems of Royalty, which they so presumptuously arrogated. The inheritance of a crown, and its usurpation by the same individual, include a contradiction.

The first of these facts is not literally mentioned in any profane author, but it appears to be a necessary consequence of the events, which they relate, as they suppose it to have happened. It is strengthened also by a tradition, the vestiges of which, are to be found both with the Ancients, and all the nations of the East.

Aridæus the brother of Alexander, mounted the throne, on the death of the Conqueror of Asia,* and after a reign of some years died; but the Macedonian Monarch's generals, who had only the authority which they exercised under his name, and that of his children, did not still venture to declare themselves kings. Roxana and her son having been put to death by the order of Cassander,

* “Εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλεία κατεσχάσαν τον Φιλίππου υἱον Ἀρριδαίου, καὶ μετῴνομασαν Φιλίππον” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.) Justin hath given more at large a detail of the immediate disputes on Alexander's death, which ends with the “In Aridæum regem consentiunt. Servata est portio regni Alexandri filio, si natus esset.” (Justin. Lib. 13. C. 2, 3, 4.--351—355.) And Q. Curtius hath entered into them still more fully, Lib. 10. C. 7, 8, 9. Tom. 2.--788—807.

fander,^y and Hercules the son of Barcine by Polyperchon,^z the ambition of Antigonus was no longer restrained by any bounds, and finding his duplicity no further necessary, he openly laid claim to the title and ornaments of Royalty.^a His rivals soon followed the example. Till this period, the different governors and generals had usurped the power, and extended the territories of their master, under the specious pretext of his service, and obedience to his commands.^b Seleucus had submitted indeed with impatience to this artifice, and though he had always fears and apprehensions of appearing before the Macedonians with any external marks of Royalty, he had not scrupulously confined himself

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to

^y “Κασσανδρῷ δὲ ὄρων Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν ἐκ Ρωξάνης αὐξανόμενον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν λόγους ὑπο τινῶν διαδιδόμενους, ὅτι καθήκει προαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν παραδίδοναι, φοβήσας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, προσεταξέ Γλαυκίᾳ τῷ προεστηκότι τῆς τῆ παίδος φυλακῆς τὴν μὲν Ρωξάνην καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα κατασφαξάι, καὶ κρυφαί τὰ σωμαία, τὸ δὲ γεγονός μεδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγγέλαι· ποιήσαντες δ’ αὐτὸ το προσαχθέν, οἱ περὶ Κασσανδρον, καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον, ἐτι δ’ Ἀντιγονον, ἀπηλλαγήσαν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆ βασιλεως προσδοκωμένων φόβων.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19.--398, 399.

^z “Ἀμὰ δὲ τούτοις πρᾶττομένοις, Πολυσπερχον, μὲν ἡθροικῶς ἄδραν δύναμιν, κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν Ἡρακλεῖα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Βαρσίνης———δείσας ὁ Κασσανδρῷ μηποτε φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὴν ὄντει οἷσι οἱ Μακεδόνες αὐτομολήσωσι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλεῖα, διεπρεσβέυσατο πρὸς Πολυσπερχοντα.” The issue of the embassy follows in a few words. “Περὶ δὲ, πολλαῖς καὶ μεγαλαῖς ἐπαγγελίαις πείσας τὸν Πολυσπερχοντα, καὶ συνθηκὰς ἐν ἀπορρητοῖς συνθεμένος, πρὸς τρεψατο δολοφονησάι τὸν βασιλεῖα.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--425.

^a Diodorus Siculus however informs us, that Antigonus took the favourable moment of some military success against Ptolemy to declare himself King. “Ὁ δ’ Ἀντιγονῷ, πυνθόμενῳ τὴν γέγενην νικὴν, καὶ μετewρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ μεγεθεὶ τῆ προτερηματοῦ, διαδημᾶ περιεθετο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐχρηματίζε βασιλεὺς.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--445.) And Plutarch confirms the supposition. Vit. Demet. Tom. 1.--896. And Justin also, Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

^b “Quippe paulo ante regis ministri, specie imperii alieni procurandi, singuli ingentia invaserant regna.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

to such restrictions, when he gave audience to foreigners, and strangers.^c If Alexander had distributed the full Sovereignty of the different provinces to the great men, that he made choice of, his orders would have been at least in part executed, and they would not have failed to publish their titles to the high stations, which they occupied. Instead of any proclamations of this kind, the Royal family continued to be respected, and enjoyed its rights as long as any branch of it existed,^d and till the death of Perdiccas and of Eumenes, who were considered as its protectors,^e had left an open field for the disputes of the contending parties. It may perhaps be objected, that the Macedonian grandees parcelled out the empire,^f but we may easily discover, that the credit and authority of the several Pretenders were the only obstacles, that counteracted Alexander's last wishes.

In

^c “Και γὰρ Λυσίμαχος ἤρξατο φέρειν διαδήματα, καὶ Σελεύκος ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γὰρ Βασιλεῦσι πρότερον, ἔτι ως βασιλεὺς ἐχρηματίζε.” De Vit. Demetrii. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--896.

^d “Hujus honoris ornamenta tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui supereffe potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut, cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit.” Justin. Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

^e “Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur, et summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens annulum suum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendasse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenissent.” (Corn. Nep. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 2.--505—507.) “Petiit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur, Philippi domus et familiæ inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam veniam si sibi daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consilio uterentur.” Corn. Nepos. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 6.--525.

^f Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807—809.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18,

In that species of military anarchy, which followed Alexander's death, power naturally prevailed over right, and became the only rule of the illegal and unequal division of the empire, that ensued. It is possible, that Perdiccas, who presided at the numerous deliberations, in which the fate of the empire^g was decided, might, either from caprice or interested views, have made some changes in the directions of his master, from whom he received a ring as a sort of appointment to the offices of executor of his orders, of protector of the kingdom, and of guardian to his children.^h It is natural to imagine, that this general, who was attached to Alexander by the ties of blood,ⁱ might be the person that he had in contemplation, when he answered, "to the most worthy and deserving," on being asked how he wished to dispose of the kingdom; and that he intended only to vest the regency in him, during the minority of his children, without the remotest idea of altering the succession, and giving him the power of transmitting it to his family, in preference to his own immediate descendants. Perhaps also the Macedonian Monarch, leaving only children in a state of infancy, by widows or daughters of the natives of the countries,

that

^g "Perdicca, perducto in urbem exercitu, consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807.) "Οὐτῷ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ συνεδρευσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐδωκε, Λαομέδοντι δὲ τὴν Μιτυληναίῳ Συρίαν, &c. &c. &c." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

^h "Ἐπιμελήτην δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Περδίκκην, ὃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δακτυλίου τελευτῶν ἐδεδωκεν" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

ⁱ "Κυνανὴ Φιλίππου θυγατὴρ ————— ἡμαρμένη δὲ Ἀμύντα τοῦ Περδίκκου" Polyæni. Strat. Lib. 8. --816.

that he had conquered, was cautious of declaring them in express terms his successors, from the fear of insulting the Macedonians. Such might have been his reasons, and with these sentiments he might have considered it prudent, to leave his grandees the liberty of choosing out of his own family, the successor most capable, in their opinions, of sustaining the weight of empire, and filling up the void by his loss. The last words of the Macedonian Monarch will plausibly admit of this explication, and by the distribution of his conquests, as Satrapies, he might flatter himself the ambition of the great men would be satisfied, and that their veneration of his memory would preserve to his children the Supreme power and Sovereignty. Yet there is a possibility that even the last words of Alexander have been supposed by his officers, and this suggestion is rather favourable to the Book of Maccabees. The doubts of the Prince's intention exculpated in the minds of the troops their tumultuous behaviour, and were some excuse for the different pretensions, in the support of which torrents of blood were soon shed.^k From the same motives, the expiring Monarch

^k "Orosius in a profusion of metaphor, opens his narrative of the Macedonian dissensions with, "At ego nunc revocor, ut per hæc eadem tempora——quæ inter se bella gesserint Macedonum duces, revolvam qui mortuo Alexandro diversas fortiti provincias, mutuis se bellis consumpserunt, quorum ego tumultuosissimum tempus ita mihi spectare videor, quasi aliqua immensa castra per noctem de speculâ montis adspectans, nihil in magno campi spatio præter innumeros focos cernam : ita per totum Macedoniæ regnum, hoc est per universam Asiam et plurimam Europæ partem, Lybiæque vel maximam, horrendi subito bellorum globi colluxerunt ! Qui cum ea præcipue loca, in quibus exarsere, populati sunt, reliqua omnia terrore rumoris, quasi fumi caligine, turbaverunt. ——Alexander per duodecim annos tremmentem sub se orbem ferro preffit. Principes vero ejus quatuordecim annis dilaniaverunt, et veluti opimam prædam a magno leone prostratam avidi discerpere

Monarch is imagined to have foreseen the fatal dissensions, that his death would produce, and the very extraordinary funeral games that would attend¹ it.

We are told by many ancient authors, whose entire works have not reached us, that Alexander distributed by a will the different provinces of his empire. The expressions of Q. Curtius on this subject are by no means equivocal, and they agree with the Book of Maccabees. We are not to conclude, however, with the Latin historian, that these traditions were false,^m and, on the contrary, it may be reasonably presumed, that Alexander's successors might influence the pens of their cotemporary writers, and prevent a publication of the Prince's testamentary dispositions. Political sagacity pointed out to them, that, without having been chosen, the title of Royalty, which first arose from the powers, which Alexander had confided to the great men around him, "whilst he was yet alive," and which they afterwards usurped on the death of the different branches of the Royal family, was literally extinct, and that the people, oppressed by their despotic governments, might

discerpere catuli: seque ipsos invicem in rixam irritatos prædæ æmulatione fregerunt." Orosius, Lib. 3. C. 23.--201. 4^{to} L. B. 1767.

¹ "Ceterum providere jam ob id certamen, magnos funebres ludos parari sibi." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "Αποθνήσκων δὲ, πρὸς τῆς ἑταίρου ἰδὼν, εἶπεν, Μεγανόρῳ μὲν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐσο-
μενον." Plutarch. Apothegm. Tom. 2.--181.

^m "Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias; sed famam hujus rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse comperimus." Q. Curtius, Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

might have seized the pretext to emancipate themselves. Q. Curtius is not the only writer of antiquity, who mentions the last dispositions of the Macedonian Monarch. Diodorus Siculus assures us, that he had deposited with the Rhodians, a testament, containing his directions concerning his empire,ⁿ and Ammianus Marcellinus speaks also of this will, in which he had named his successor.^o Moses of Chorene,^p a writer of the fifth century and of some authority, hath not forgotten also the division of the Eastern empire, nor the last dispositions of the Conqueror. Malala^q tells us in his chronicle, that Alexander just before he expired, gave directions that the governors, whom he appointed in the different provinces, should reign in them, and the author of the chronicle, of which Scaliger published^r an extract, agrees with Malala, but the testimony of these writers of the middle age deserves little credit, for they have in fact but copied the Book of Maccabees.

The

ⁿ “Τον δε πλειστον ισχυαντα των μνημονευομενων Αλεξανδρον, προτιμησαντ’ αυτην μαλιστα των πολεων η την υπερ ολης της βασιλειας διαδηκην εκει δεσθαι.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--464.

^o “Ut bella pretereamus Alexandri, et testamento nationem omnem in successoris unius jura translata.” Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 23. C. 6.--398.

^p “Igitur Alexander ille Macedo——totius orbis imperio potitus, cum regnum suum inter plures testamento partitus est, ita tamen ut Macedonum imperium generatim univérseque appellaretur, ipse e vita excessit.” Hist. Armen. ex Vers. Whiston. Lib. 2. C. 1.--82, 83.

^q “Μελλων δε τελευταν ο αυτος Αλεξανδρος, διαταξατο ωστε παντας της συν αυτω υπερασπιστας η συμμαχης βασιλευειν της αυτης χωρας, οπη ην αυτης εασης, η κρατειν των εκεισε τοπων.” Malal. Chronic. Lib. 8.--82. Apud Byzant. Script. Tom. 23. Ed. Venet.

^r Chronic. 72.

The Eastern nations have preserved in their writings, some remains of the traditions respecting the partition of the empire, which Alexander made, and the Tarikh-Montekheb intimates, “that the King divided, a little before his death, the provinces of Persia amongst the descendants of the princes, that he had stripped of them, on the condition of their doing him fealty and homage.”^s Sangiac-Tharikele adds, that after Alexander’s death, these Feudatory or tributary princes became independent Sovereigns. But the division of Persia, amongst the issue of the dethroned princes is an error, and by the Feudatory princes, these authors undoubtedly meant Satraps, who had almost as extensive an authority, as the vassals of the ancient European monarchs. Cyrus, to supply the wants of his vast empire, and to relieve himself and his successors from the fatigues of such an extended government, created the office of Satraps, to whom he delegated his authority. These Satraps exercised indeed powers almost without bounds. They had the right of levying taxes and impositions, and they were even charged with the payment of the troops in their governments,^t which were given in Apanage to the sons of the Persian monarchs. Hytaspes the son of Xerxes, held Bactria as Satrap,^w and the younger Cyrus enjoyed under the same title,

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^s Herbelot. *Bibliothèque Orientale*. 318.—See also Mirkhoud. Sect. 21.

^t “Σατραπας πεμψει μοι δοκει, οτινες αρξουσιν των ενοικουντων, κ̅ τον δασμον λαμβανοντες τοις τε φεβεροις δωσουσι μισθον, κ̅ αλλο τελεσεσιν οι τι αν δεη” Xenoph. *Cyropædia*, Lib. 8.--637. 4^{to} 1727.

^w “Υγασπης, αποδημ̅ων, κατ’εκεινον τον καιρον̅ ειχε γαρ την εν Βακτροις σατραπειαν̅” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--457.) The Baron de St. Croix styles Hytaspes “fils d’Artaxerxes,”

but

the government of Asia Minor. We may judge from the preliminaries of his campaign, which terminated with the battle of Cunaxa, of the great and important powers intrusted to a Satrap, and how dangerous the office was in the hands either of an ambitious person, or one with military abilities of any consequence.

Alexander not only adopted the manners of the Persians, but even their principles and form of government, and established Satraps in all his empire. Most of the historians, who have spoken of the division of it, which he made at his death, have intended by Satrapies to specify the portions which fell to the share of each of his generals, and gave the titles of Satraps to the governors of them. Appian,* in mentioning the events, which followed the Macedonian Monarch's death, informs us, that these generals from being Satraps became Kings. Yet this was by an abuse of their power. When Alexander made the partition of his kingdom, "whilst he was yet alive," he undoubtedly was not aware of the danger attending such appointments, which were originally little different from those, that Cyrus just before his death conferred upon his friends, who appeared to him most proper to be intrusted with the government of his kingdom.† The same consequences might

but he was the son of Xerxes, according to Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--456.) and I have rectified the error.

* "Και βασιλεις ἅπαντες εκ Σατραπων ἐγινοντο" (Appian. de Bell. Syriac. Tom. 1.--197. 8^{vo} Amst. 1670.) Justin hath the same idea, "Sic reges ex præfectis facti." Lib. 8. C. 4.--361.

† "Ἐπειτα δὲ ὅς ἐγινωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξημενοῖς ἐπιθυμούντας ἵεναι, ἐκλεξαμένῳ αὐτῶν τοὺς δόκουντας ἐπιτηδεύοντάς τιναι, ἐπέμπευε Σατραπῶας" Xenoph. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--638.

dividuals, agreeable to the Hebrew text and Septuagint,^f had a share in the dismemberment, and proclaimed themselves kings. Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Dexippus and Justin, have furnished us with the names of many of the great men^g who filled these employments, and in the distant provinces, they took advantage of the Macedonian dissensions to establish their authority and independence. Theodotus of Bactria, first shook off the Macedonian yoke, and the example was soon followed by the neighbouring nations.^h

^f "Καὶ ἑτέροις ἐκ τῶν" Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

^g "Arrien, Diodore, Dexippe et Justin, nous apprennent que plusieurs Satrapes des provinces éloignées de l'Orient profitèrent des dissensions des Macedoniens, pour se soustraire à leur domination." The Baron de St. Croix in support of the assertion, refers his readers to Photii Biblioth. 215, 216.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.—Justin. Lib. 13. C. 4.--355—361.—But these authors, in the passages referred to, principally confine themselves to the distribution of the provinces after Alexander's death.

^h "Theodotus mille urbium Bactrianarum præfectus, defecit, regemque se appellari jussit : quod exemplum secuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere." Justin. Lib. 41. C. 4. --686.

END OF THE THIRD SECTION.

SECT.

S E C T I O N. IV.

“—ORBIS SITUM DICERE AGGREDIOR, IMPEDITUM OPUS, ET
FACUNDIÆ MINIME CAPAX.”

P. MELÆ PROŒMIUM.

THE ancient historians, collected with great labour and attention the materials for their works. The moderns have been reproached with compiling in their closets and at their ease memoirs of the facts with which they are acquainted, and supplying, by the help of imagination, any chasm that might remain to be filled up. Reports, often faithless and commonly insufficient, concerning the countries, which have been the theatres of the events, that they pretend to describe, are almost the whole resource of this class of authors.—Polybius scaled the summit of the Alps, to trace out with fidelity the march of Hannibal, and he matured his history, by adding to his own reflections the advantages acquired from a knowledge of the world, which he reaped from his travels. The wisdom of the plan was indeed caught from Herodotus, whose descriptions are so very exact, as to be in general preferable to those

those of the later writers, and, in the instances respecting Alexander's expeditions, even to the geographical details of the Conqueror's own historians.

The knowledge of the terrestrial globe, was undoubtedly extended by the companions of the Macedonian Monarch's arms, but, without allowing themselves time for cool and serious reflection, they took up every thing from its first impression, which is frequently inaccurate, and their cotemporaries, dazzled with their prosperity, fell into their errors.

OF ASIA MINOR.

The learned Salmasius^a hath well observed, that Q. Curtius^b confounds the Marfyas, which passed by Celæne, a city destroyed, and afterwards rebuilt at some distance from its original situation, under the name of Apamea, by Antiochus Soter,^c with the Lycus, which bathed the walls of Laodicea. These two rivers threw themselves

^a Salmasii Exercit. Plin. 582.

^b "Ad urbem Celænus exercitum admovit. Mediam illâ tempestate interfluebat Marfyas amnis."
Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--51, 52.

^c Strabo, Lib. 12.--866.

themselves into the Meander, at the distance from each other of more than five hundred stadia, from the North to the South-East, in Pacatian Phrygia. ^d

Q. Curtius, speaking of Alexander's arrival at Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, and which had been formerly the residence of Midas, assures us, that this city was situated on the river Sangaris, and at an equal distance from the seas of Pontus and Cilicia. ^e Gordium, which was reduced to an insignificant village in the time of Strabo, ^f was afterwards restored under the reign of Augustus, and had the name of Juliopolis. ^g Monsieur d'Anville, ^h places it twenty-five leagues from the Pontus Euxinus, and eighty-four from the sea of Cilicia, equivalent to the Latitude of forty degrees and ten minutes, agreeable to Ptolemy, ⁱ and the situation is authorized also by the distance between Juliopolis and Constantinople, according to the itinerary of Antonine. ^k Q. Curtius hath therefore

^d See la Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville.

^e "Tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfuit, pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--55, 56.

^f "Οὐδ' ἔχρησσαν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καί τις, μικρὴ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων." Strabo. Lib. 12.--852.

^g Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. C. 39. Tom. 1.--624.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--860.

^h La Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville.

ⁱ Geograph. Lib. 5. C. 2.

^k Antonini Itin. Ed. Wesseling. 142—144.

therefore fixed this city, twenty-seven leagues farther Southward than he ought to have done. ¹

The Latin historian is guilty of a more considerable error, in giving to the isthmus of Asia Minor the Longitude of Gordium, though it is formed by that portion of land situated between the gulph of Amisus and that of Tarsus, near the mouth of the Cydnus. ^m It is therefore five degrees to the East nearer Gordium. ⁿ Something may perhaps be discovered in the text of Q. Curtius to justify him, but it will, notwithstanding, be very difficult to make any sense of the following passage. ^o "These seas almost unite, having but a small neck of land to part them, each sea striving to encroach upon the land, and reducing it into a narrow strait. But yet though it reaches the Continent, and as it is almost surrounded with water, it seems to represent an island; inasmuch, that were it not for this slender partition, these seas would join." ^p—The isthmus, which joins that part of Asia Minor to the
great

¹ Yet Titus Livy seems to entertain the same opinion as to the situation of Gordium. "Postero die ad Gordium pervenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus, quam Mediterraneum, celebre et frequens emporium, tria maria pari ferme distantia intervallo habet." Lib. 38. C. 18. Tom. 5.--191.

^m Strabo. Lib. 14.--990.

ⁿ La Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville.

^o "Inter hæc maria angustissimum Asiæ spatium esse comperimus, utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quæ quia Continenti adhæret, sed magnâ ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulæ præbet; ac nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--56.

^p Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--149.

great Continent of this quarter of the world, and the country between the gulphs of Amifus and Tarsus, was divided into three great kingdoms, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, embracing an extent of twenty degrees of Latitude, and is described, as one might have supposed, that of Corinth would have been.

Arrian hath confounded the Greater Phrygia,^q watered by the Sangaris, of which Galatia, where the ancient Gordium stood, was once a part, with the Lesser Phrygia; more distinguished by Phrygia above the Hellespont, in which the Troad was included.^r This error, as Cellarius^s remarks, produced many others.—Alexander marched from Gordium to Ancyra, a city of Galatia, according to Arrian.^t It is certain that Ancyra, in the time of this historian, was a city of Galatia, but in the age of Alexander, this country which was only inhabited by the Gauls, about two hundred and fifty years before Christ, and took afterwards its name from them, was then called the Greater Phrygia. In the itinerary therefore of the Macedonian Monarch's army, the term of Greater Phrygia should be preserved.

Q Q

We

^q “Το δὲ Γορδίου ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ’ Ἑλλεσποντοῦ, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ.” Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 29.--100.

^r Ptolemy (Lib. 5. C. 2.--117.) supposes the Lesser Phrygia to have been the same with the Troad, though it was only a part of it. (See Strabo. Lib. 13.) Strabo allows that he has entered into a description of the Troad, with some prolixity. Lib. 13.--871—878, &c.

^s Geograph. Ant. Tom. 2.--97.

^t Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 4.--111.

We find a similar mistake in Q. Curtius, and we are told, that Amphoterus and Hegelochus, reduced under subjection the islands between Achaia and Asia.^w Achaia was situated on the North of the Peloponnesus, and as it comprised at that time no greater extent than in the days of Herodotus,^x it ought not to be considered as the Continent opposite to Asia, though its boundaries were enlarged under the Roman empire, and the term might then be a proper one.

The ancient geographical writers are not free from mistakes of this kind, which they fell into from their inattention to history, which ought always to be connected with geography, and indeed renders it only useful. On this account the migrations of different nations, the various revolutions, and the limits and names of countries, that were either conquered, or exchanged their masters, should be discriminated, and the different periods of these several changes marked in a chronological manner. Stripped of these precautions, geography will be found a dry catalogue of names, which fatigues the memory without improving the understanding, and a number of anachronisms and contradictions must inevitably follow. Asia Minor in particular was subject to many revolutions, which, in the description of this part of the world, are absolutely necessary to be known; and Strabo, who joined to the views of the philosopher
great

^w "Amphoterus et Hegelochus centum sexaginta navium classe insulas inter Achaiam atque Asiam in ditionem Alexandri redegerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--193, 194.

^x Herodotus, Lib. 1.--71, 72.

great geographical information, hath not overlooked them. “The migrations of the Greeks after the Trojan war,” says the judicious writer, “that of the Treres, the Cimmerians, Lydians, and those afterwards of the Persians and Macedonians, and lastly that of the Galatians have created great difficulties and confusion. The removal of nations has not only been the cause of much obscurity, but the different authors, who have written of the same places, have given them different names, and do not agree with each other. Phrygians are called Trojans, and with the licence of the tragic poets, the Lycians, Carians.

Notwithstanding these impediments, every possible advantage ought to be endeavoured to be obtained, and where the darkness of ancient history cannot be dissipated, (as the duty of the geographer is not solely confined to it) the actual situation of places should be explained.”^y These observations point out to us not only the changes that have happened in Asia Minor, and the mistakes, which they have occasioned, but shew us the route that we should take in our researches, and the use and benefit of them.

Q Q 2

O I

^y “Μετα δε τα Τροικα αι τε των Έλληνων αποικιαι, η αι Τρηρων, η αι Κιμμηριων εφοδοι, η Λυδων, η μετα ταυτα Περσων, η Μακεδωνων, τελευταιον Γαλατων, εταραξαν παντα, η συνεχεαν· Γεγονε δε η ασταφεια, η δια τας μεταβολας μονον, αλλα η δια τας των συγγραφων ανομολογιας, περι των αυτων η τα αυτα λεγοντων· της μεν Τρωας καληντων Φρυγας, καθαπερ οι τραγικοι, της δε Λυκιες Καρας, η αλλης ετως·—
———Ομως δε καιπερ τοις των οντων, πειρατεον δαιταν εκστα εις δυναμιν, ο, τι δ’αν διαφυγοι της παλαιας ιστοριας, τητο μεν εατεον (η γαρ ενταυθα το της γεωγραφικης εργον) ταδε νυν οντα λεκτεον.” Strabo. Lib. 12.—859, 860.

OF ÆGYPT AND LYBIA.

Little is to be gleaned respecting Ægypt in the history of Alexander's campaigns, which Diodorus Siculus hath left us. On the division of the Satrapies after the Macedonian Monarch's death, he speaks very superficially of the provinces, which formed his immense empire, and the following passage hath neither a claim to accuracy nor precision.² "All the extremities of Cælo-Syria and the neighbouring deserts, through which the Nile flows, separating Ægypt from Syria." Short as this sentence is, it may be still difficult to conceive a just idea of what the Greek author meant. Cælo-Syria, properly so called, was situated in the middle of the country between Libanus and Anti Libanus,³ and it extended under the reign of Alexander's successors to all the Southern part of Syria, as far as the frontiers of Ægypt and Arabia.^b Diodorus Siculus hath adopted the whole extent, and hath confounded also Arabia Petrea with the Arabia of Heroum, confined

² "Παρά δε τα πέρατα της κοιλης Συρίας κ' την συνεχως κειμενην ερημον, καθ' ην ο Νειλος φερεμενος οριζει Συριαν τε κ' την Αιγυπτον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

³ "Κοιλησυρια καλεται" ιδιως δ' η τω Λιβανω κ' τω Αντιλιβανω αφωρισμενη." Strabo. Lib. 13. --1097.

^b See the commentary of Eustathius on Dionys. Perieges. V. 970.--123. Ed. Steph. 4^{to} 1577.

confined to Ægypt, whose limits were bounded by the lake Serbonis, near the promontory Kas Kazaron or cape Delkas,^c and the mount Cassius of the Ancients.^d The Ionians reduced Ægypt as far as the Delta, and pretended that the country to the East of the mouth of the Pelusiacus made part of Arabia, as the tract beyond that of the Canopus, was annexed to Lybia. This opinion, ably refuted by Herodotus,^e was the source of all the errors of Diodorus Siculus, and also led him to stretch even to the Nile, that portion of Syria which ended at the lake Serbonis, and had the Arabia of Heroum to the South.—If Diodorus Siculus hath however extended too far to the limits of Syria, Arrian hath compressed them, when he tells us that Gaza was the last town on the road to Ægypt.^f Syria had notwithstanding many other remarkable cities, and amongst them, Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenysus, Raphea and Rhinocolura, according to Pliny,^g the

^c Ægypte Ancienne et Moderne par d'Anville. 99.

^d Herodotus. Lib. 2.--106.

^e Herodotus. Lib. 2.--110, 111. Where the Point is well argued.

^f “Ἐσχάτη δὲ ὤκειτο, ὡς ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτὸς καὶ Φοινίκης ἰσχυροί.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26. --174.) The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the “Ἐσχάτη δὲ ὤκειτο” by “La dernière ville habitée” and Dr. Gillies (History of Greece. Vol. 2.--609.) as well as Rooke, the translator of Arrian, have understood the expression in the same sense. May I be permitted to doubt, whether Arrian did not rather mean to intimate, that Gaza was the city last built and peopled on the road to Ægypt.—By this construction, the inadvertency, with which the Baron de St. Croix hath charged Arrian, is at an end, and Pliny’s apparent contradiction will be no longer visible.

^g “Telles qu’Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenysus, Raphia, et Rhinocolura, celleci, le dernier lieu de cette province selon Plin.” I cannot comprehend how the “Oppida Rhinocolura, et intus Raphea”

the laft of which flood on the confines of Syria towards Ægypt, and was nearly four hundred Olympic ftadia from Gaza.

Q. Curtius informs us, that the country of Ammon was terminated to the Eaft by the Æthiopians; to the South by the Troglodite Arabians, whose territories reached the Red Sea; to the Weft by the Æthiopian Scenites, and to the North by the Nafamons.^h We may collect fome ideas of the accuracy of the Latin hiftorian, from a comparifon of his pofition of thefe different nations with thofe both of the ancient and modern geographers.

The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in Marmarica,ⁱ and not in the Cyrenaic, as Pliny^k and Pomponius Mela^l have advanced, had Lybia on the North, whose coafts were inhabited, if we are to believe

Raphea: Gaza, et intus Anthedon," (Plin. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--566.) can warrant fuch a fentence. I have releafed Pliny from the weight of the obligation, and made the Baron de St Croix accountable for his own assertions.

^h "Adcolæ fedis funt ab Oriente proximi Æthiopum: in meridiem verfus Arabes fpectant, Troglodyti cognomen eft: quorum regio ufque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At qua vergit ad Occidentem, alii Æthiopes colunt, quos scenitas vocant: a feptentrione Nafamones funt, gens Syriaca." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--212, 213.

ⁱ I doubt whether the "Οἱ Μαγμαγεῖδαι προσχωρῶντες ἐπὶ πλεον τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ, καὶ παραττίνοντες μεχρὶ Ἀμμωνῶν," (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1195.) will include the Oracle. See however Cellarii Geograph. 68.

^k "Cyrenaica, eadem Pentapolitana regio illustratur Hammonis oraculo, quod a Cyrenis abeft C. C. C. M. paffuum." Plin. Nat. Hift. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--541.

^l "Cyrenaica provincia eft; in eâque funt Hammonis oraculum, fidci inclytæ: et fons, quem Solis appellant." P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 8.--46. 8^{vo} L. B. 1748.

believe Herodotus,^m by a wandering and unfettled nation ; Ægypt on the East ; on the South the Nobates and Garamantians, though Herodotus places them twenty days' journey to the West of the Ammonians ; and the Inner Lybia on the West. The Troglo-dites, who were situated on the Western coast of the Arabian gulph, to the South of Ægypt,ⁿ cannot be included in the list of the neighbouring nations of the Oracle, nor the Æthiopian Scenites and Nomades, residing near the island of Meroe,^o whose position to the South of Thebes is well known.—According to the ancient geographers, the Nafamons resided near the Great Syrtes, and the borders of Cyrene and Carthage, distinguished by the *Aræ Philenorum*.^p Herodotus throws back the Southern frontiers of Lybia, as far as Augila,^q ten days' journey from Ammon, whose Latitude will not then differ more than one degree and ten minutes, from that of the country of the Nafamons. Q. Curtius scarcely merits a reproach, for such a trifling mistake, but Diodorus Siculus is unpardonable, for having placed this Lybian nation to the South of the Oracle.

OF

^m Herodotus. Lib. 4.--360.

ⁿ Strabo. Lib. 1.--71.

^o Herodotus. Lib. 2.--116.

^p Strabo. Lib. 2.--193.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--543.—Scylacis Peripl. 111. 4^{to} L. B. 1700.—Eustath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 209.--31. 4^{to} 1577.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 7.--40.

^q Herodotus. Lib. 4.--361.

OF THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

We learn from Arrian, that the Macedonian army on leaving the banks of the Tigris, in their march to Gaugamele, had the Sogdian mountains on the left.^r The error must have arisen from the negligence of the copyist, who probably, inserted Sogdian instead of Gordian or Corduan, as both Palmer^s and Holstenius^t have observed. The necessity of this correction is indeed evident, from the march of Alexander's army. The Gordian or Corduan mountains, were situated to the North of Arbela, and consequently the Macedonian troops must have them on the left. Strabo,^w Q. Curtius,^x and Plutarch,^y unite their testimony in support of this emendation; but instead of endeavouring to discover in the text of Arrian, a solution of the difficulty, in which he is involved,

Monfieur

^r “*Ἐν αἰστέρα μὲν ἔχων τὰ Σογδιανῶν ὄρη.*” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--195.

^s Exercitat. in Auctores Græcos. 238.

^t Ad. Not. in Steph. Byzant.

^w Strabo. Lib. 11.--802.

^x “*Secundâ vigiliâ castra movit: dextrâ Tigrim habebat; a lævâ montes, quos Gordæos vocant.*” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 10. Tom. 1.--242.

^y “*Πεδιον το μεταξυ τῆ Νιφάτῃ καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Γορδυαίων.*” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--683.

Monfieur Freret^z is difpofed to fuppofe he gave the name of Sogdian, a term fignifying, in his opinion, a valley, to all the country round about Arbela. This learned writer hath notwithstanding, inconfiftently advanced in his memoir on the chronology of Affyria, “that^a the name of Sogdian was ufually applied to any mountainous country.”—Abulfeda, however, leaves little doubt upon the fubject. Soghd, according to this Arabian author, is the name of an extenfive province of Trans-Oxiana, of which Samarcand was the capital.—Alfragan^b reckons Sogdiana as a province of the Khorafan, and the other Oriental writers, from whom Monfieur Freret appears to have taken up his conjectures, are not favourable to him. Herbelot alfo contradicts him.

Alexander croffing Mefopotamia, in the direction of North to South, from Gaugamele to Memnium or Memin, left a great part of the country on the right. Q. Curtius affures us, that the Macedonian army had on the left Arabia Felix,^c which is to the South-Eaft of the Defert, near the Euphrates and Babylon,^d and, thus miftaking “Arabia Deferta” for “Arabia Felix,” he places on the left, what was upon the right. But indeed the account of

R R this

^z Obfervat. fur la Cyrop: Hift. de l’Acad. des Infcriptions. Tom. 4.--611, 612.

^a Hift. de l’Academie des Inſcript. Tom. 5.--190.

^b Element. Aftronom. C. 9.

^c “Euntibus a parte lævâ, Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio.” Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--302.

^d Strabo. Lib. 16.--1112.

this historian, might induce us to believe, that Alexander had Arabia on the right during the whole of his march, which was the case only during a short part of it.

An alteration of a single word, in a geographical description, may sometimes occasion considerable errors, and Justin furnishes us with an instance of it. The Lycus, a river which flows through the plains of Arbela, is termed the Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, which washes the walls of Tarsus.^e We may reasonably suppose this was owing to negligence in the copyist, but it has notwithstanding bewildered P. Orosius, who follows the exact footsteps of the abbreviator of T. Pompeius, and, with the greatest absurdity, states Alexander's last decisive engagement with Darius to have been fought near Tarsus.^f

The Tigris and the Euphrates are said by Q. Curtius to cross both Media and Gordiana:^g on the contrary, these rivers direct their course to the West of Media, and to the South and West of Gordiana. Diodorus Siculus may possibly have been the author
of

^e Justin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--293. Vossius, however, in opposition to Q. Curtius (Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--293.) and Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.) maintains the present reading of Justin, and supposes the Cydnus and Lycus to have equally disgorged themselves into the Tigris.

^f "Apud Tarsum bellum opponit." (Orosius. Lib. 3. C. 17.--184.) The error is indefensible.

^g Q. Curtius. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--305.

of the error, for he makes the Tigris and the Euphrates, to water Media and Parætacène,^h a Northern province of Persia.ⁱ

In the letter, which Q. Curtius supposes Darius to have addressed to Alexander, he informs the Macedonian Monarch, that “he^k would find himself obliged to pass the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were like so many bulwarks to his dominions.”^l These expressions would naturally lead us to imagine, that the Persian empire lay beyond the Hydaspes. The Araxes appears also to be transported to the East of the Tigris. Perhaps however a river of that name, which passed by Persepolis, might be alluded to; though from the circumstance of the Araxes being mentioned amongst the other great rivers of Asia, it might be suspected to be the river, which discharges itself into the Caspian sea.—Alexander in his answer to Darius, informs him, that his intention was to make himself master of Persepolis, the capital of the Persian monarch, and afterwards of Bactra, and Ecbatana. Q. Curtius mentions Ecbatana the last,^m as if it had been beyond Bactra.

R R 2

The

^h “Ενεχθέντες δὲ διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Παραιτακηνῆς, ἐμβαλλουσιν εἰς τὴν Μεσποταμίαν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--125.

ⁱ Herodotus. Lib. 1.--52.

^k “Transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten, Tigrinque et Araxen, et Hydaspem, magna munimenta regni sui.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

^l Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--212.

^m “Persepolim caput regni ejus, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--192.

The Macedonian army, in its march from Susa to penetrate into the interior provinces of the East, was obliged according to Diodorus Siculus ⁿ to pass the Tigris. This error is probably but the consequence of the former mistake, which he had made, respecting the course of this river, and which hath been already noticed. The judicious Palmer ^o hath not perceived it, because he wished to substitute the Pasitigris for the Tigris, which often occurs in the text of Diodorus Siculus. The repetition itself proves that the common reading is correct, and to vary the passages of the ancient writers upon frivolous pretensions, would be to expose them incessantly to the caprice of critics and grammarians. The opinion that the Tigris, from its receiving the waters of Susa, and the different channels of the Euphrates, took afterwards the name of Pasitigris, ^p seems to be confirmed by the navigation of Nearchus, ^q and some expressions of Pliny. ^r Alexander's historians have, notwithstanding, confounded the Pasitigris with the Orates or Oroatis, ^s which separates Persia from Susa, and

ⁿ Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17.--211.

^o Palmer. Exercit. apud Auctores Græcos. 138, 139.

^p Recherches Geograph. sur le Golfe Persique par d'Anville.—Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 30.--173, &c.—See also Strabo. Lib. 15.--1060.

^q Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 42.--633.

^r "Ubi remeavere aquæ, Pasitigris vocatur." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27. Tom. 1--716.

^s Yet Strabo tells us, "Πασιτιγρην απο τη Οροατιδου διεχην περι δισχιλις σταδις." Lib. 15. --1060.

and which in all probability Diodorus Siculus hath taken for the Tigris.

After the death of Darius, Alexander pursued the Persian monarch's assassins, and the remains of the Persian army, and pressed forward into that part of Asia near the Caspian sea, and beyond the Iaxartes, which was an important discovery to the Greeks, who had only been till then acquainted with the countries to the West of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Athenian orators were struck with the rapid conquests of the Macedonian troops, and the tribune resounded with harangues on the astonishing relations of their exploits. Æschines cried out "in the midst of one of the popular assemblies, "that" Alexander was at a distance farther than the Pole, almost beyond the limits of the habitable world." * Such was the impression that the discoveries of the Macedonian Monarch made upon his contemporaries. The orator may indulge himself in a paroxysm of enthusiasm, but the philosopher will scrutinize more calmly the history of events, and sanction only those, which have the support of reason, and are authorized by truth.

OF

* "Æschine s'ecria." I give the French expression to justify the corresponding passage. One part of the Athenian Senate, either in the pay or interest of Alexander, or from views of opposition, might find their purpose in magnifying the victories of the Macedonian Monarch, but the Greek orator, in the sentence alluded to, reasons merely from the distance, which then separated them.

ω "Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξω τῆς Ἀρκτὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγον δαίον πάσης μεθείσθηκει." Æschines contra Ctesiph. Demost. Opera. 454. Folio. Franc. 1604.

* Leland's Orations of Æschines and Demosthenes. Vol. 3.--100. 8^{vo}

OF THE CASPIAN SEA.

The ancient Persians had some correct notions of the Caspian sea, though they were not sufficiently acquainted with the whole of its shape and figure, as we may gather from Herodotus. This Greek historian most probably borrowed his ideas from the Persians, who neither pushed their knowledge very far, nor acquired that degree of certainty, which might have been expected from them, owing to the abhorrence of all maritime expeditions, which they derived from their religious institutions.^y They were persuaded also, that the coasts of these seas were frequented by evil Genii, of whom they had fears and apprehensions.^z——The Greeks, who succeeded them in the empire of the East, sailed generally to the Southward, and the Easterly and Westerly winds,^a which blew almost incessantly in those roads, with the want of proper and convenient ports,^b prevented them extending their voyages on such

^y We are told by Pliny, speaking of Tiridates, “Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.” Hist. Nat. Lib. 30. C. 2. Tom. 4.--730.

^z Memoires de Monsieur Anquetil. Hist. de l’Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 31.--373.

^a Q. Curtius informs us, that there is also a great and heavy sea, which sets in from the North: “A Septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit.” Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

^b “Onne atrox, sævum, sine portibus, procellis undique expositum; ac belluis magis quam cetera

such stormy coasts. They relied on the neighbouring nations for information, and what they picked up from them was the source of numerous and multiplied errors. It is to the Russians that we are indebted for the present geographical system, and they have at last dissipated that mist of ignorance, in which this part of the world was enveloped. By repeated observations, the greatest length of the Caspian sea hath been demonstrated to be from North to South,^c and that it has neither any communication with the Ocean, nor adjoining seas.

The ancient geographers were divided in opinion respecting the figure of the Caspian sea. By some, it was supposed to be of an oblong shape :^d others concluded that it was round. It is astonishing, however, that the sentiments of Herodotus were not universally admitted. We understand from him, that an oared vessel might sail in fifteen days from end to end, and might cross it in eight.^e If we reckon, according to the calculation of many of the ancient authors, and even of Herodotus, the track of this vessel at
five

cetera refertum, et ideo minus navigabile." (P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--267.) The "Bellua" might be the evil Genii of the Persians.

^c Memoire de Monsieur de l'Isle. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1741.--245.

^d Μηνοειδης υσα, κατα δε τινας κ̃ προσηκης." Agathemerus. Lib. 1. C. 3.--184. Ed. Gronov. 4^{to} L. B. 1700.

^e " 'Η δε Κασπία, εσι̃ ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτης, υσα̃ μὲν πλοῦ, εἰς̃ ἡμερῶν, πέντε κ̃ δεκα̃ ἡμερῶν· εὐρ̃ δε, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ εσι̃ αὐτῇ ἑωυτης, οκτῶ ἡμερῶν." Herod. Lib. 1.--96.

five hundred stadia,^f which ought in fact to be eight hundred or a thousand, the length of the Caspian sea, will be found within nearly five hundred stadia of that given to it in the modern discoveries, though the eight days' passage cannot be reconciled with any correct chart. The calculation of Agathemerus is more moderate, and he reduces it to two thousand five hundred stadia,^g the extent which it really has on the Southern side; but the measure of eight thousand two hundred stadia, which he allows to the coasts of the Caspian sea, from the mouth of the Cyrus to that of the Iaxartes, is not equally just and accurate.

Eratosthenes had collected with care the observations of different persons, on the distance and extent of the coast of the sea, which bordered Albania and the country of the Cadusians, for the space of five thousand four hundred stadia; the country of the Mardi, as far as the mouths of the Oxus, for four thousand eight hundred; and from thence to the Iaxartes, which again took in two thousand four hundred stadia,^h amounting in the whole

^f "Απο δε Ἡλιεπολίδος εἰς Θηβὰς ἐστὶ ἀναπλοῦς ἐννεα ἡμερῶν· σταδιοὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑξήκοντα καὶ οκτακοσιοὶ καὶ τετρακισχilioi." (Herodot. Lib. 2.--107.) These four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia allow five hundred and ninety for each day's sail, and the calculation appears to be adopted in general by the ancient authors. The turbulence of the Caspian sea might however reduce the reckoning.

^g "Πλάτος δὲ πλεῖστον β. φ. μιλίων δὲ τ. λ. δ.'" Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 14.--243.

^h "Φησι δ' Ἐρατοσθένης τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γνωρίμων περιπλευντῆς θαλάττης ταύτης, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τῆς Ἀλβανίας, καὶ τῆς Καδυσίας, εἶναι πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων· τὸν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀναρϊακῶν, καὶ Μαρδῶν, καὶ Ὑρκανῶν, μέχρι τοῦ σωματὸς τοῦ Ὀξοῦ ποταμοῦ, τετρακισχιλίων καὶ οκτακοσίων· ἐνθεν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰαξάρτη δις χιλίων τετρακοσίων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--773.

whole to twelve thousand six hundred stadia. Artemidorus computed the distance at fifteen hundred and seventy-five, ⁱ which is not widely different from the present ideas, though they are not still as accurate as might be wished. Strabo assures us, that the Caspian sea was little known beyond the Iaxartes, and that too much caution cannot be taken, in giving credit to any accounts of the Northern part of it, ^k with which the Ancients had but a very dubious acquaintance. The name indeed of the Caspian sea, according to Pliny, did not extend beyond the Cyrus. ^l

It appears from the different computations, which have been already alluded to, that many authors of antiquity were aware, though their notions were far from being perfect, that the greatest extent of the Caspian sea was from North to South. Ptolemy, however, hath totally disregarded the opinion, and allows twenty-three degrees and a half from West to East, which is four times its extent. ^m

S s

The

ⁱ “Eratosthenes ponit et mensuram: ab exortu et meridie, per Cadusiæ et Albanæ oram quinque mille C. C. C. C. stad. Inde per Anariacas, Amardos, Hyrcanos, ad ostium Oxi fluminis, quatuor mille D. C. C. C. stad. Ab eo ad ostium Iaxartis M. M. C. C. C. C. stad. Quæ summa efficit quindecies centena septuaginta quinque M. passuum.” (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668, 669.) The calculation therefore was that of Eratosthenes, and Pliny is only responsible for the reduction of the stadia to the Roman measure.

^k “Δει δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μερὶδι ταύτῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκτετοπισμένοις ἀπλῆστερον αὐτὴν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--774.

^l “A Cyro Caspium mare vocari incipit: accolunt Caspii.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

^m See the observations on the Caspian sea. Histoire de l'Academie des Sciences. 1721.--247.

The result of this extensive and undue extent in Longitude has been, that all the countries of Asia, within the twentieth and fortieth degrees of North Latitude, have been stretched to one hundred and ninety degrees of Longitude, and by this means, China is placed six hundred leagues more Easterly than it ought to be,ⁿ and the position of the different nations hath been thrown farther to the East. The Western regions have been equally misplaced, and a part of Albania, the Caspians, the Caducians, and the Geles, instead of occupying the Western shore of the Caspian sea, have been transported to the South.^o Monsieur de Buffon, attributes the origin of this error to a supposition, that the lake Aral was considered as a part of the Caspian sea. "We shall find," this great Naturalist informs us, "that the Western coast of the Caspian sea, to the Eastern shore of the lake Aral, extends to a greater length than the distance from the Southern coast to the Northern coast of the same sea."^p The best modern charts do not agree with this system, and on measuring the space of which Monsieur de Buffon speaks, it will be found, on the contrary, that the Caspian sea will have a third more of Latitude than Longitude. Besides the ancient geographers have not in the least confounded the lake Aral with this sea, and the Orientals, who have given us
some

ⁿ Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, Tom. 25.--45.

^o Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 2.

^p "On trouvera encore que la longueur, depuis le bord Occidental de la mer Caspienne, jusqu'au bord Oriental du lac Aral est plus grande que la longueur depuis le bord meridional jusqu'au bord septentrional de la meme mer." Hist. Nat. Tom. 2.--41. Ed. 12^{me}

some very particular information relative to this lake, have been equally deceived as to the extent of the Longitude of the Caspian sea.

Abulfeda, an Arabian prince, and an author in the early part of the fourteenth century, relates the opinion of Kotiddin, who fixed the Longitude of the Caspian sea, at two hundred and seventy parasengs.¹ Ali-Kohcsgi, a celebrated Oriental astronomer of the fifteenth century, included twenty-two parasengs in a degree, with a fraction of two thirds of a mile, three miles forming a paraseng.² According to this calculation, Kotiddin will only have allowed eleven degrees a third and two miles of Longitude to the Caspian sea, which reduces it more than one half of Ptolemy's computation.

It is probable that the extent of the Caspian sea was not always the same, on the Eastern, Western, and Southern shores, and that it hath been subject to many changes. Perhaps even the Caspian sea might have once covered the sandy surface which now separates it from the lake Aral, and indeed its waters must have been much more considerable, as many great rivers, which formerly opened into it, have had their courses turned and flow into it no longer. Mr. Hanway's journal proves, that many alterations have

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happened

¹ "Tradit Kotiddinus ejus Longitudinem ab Oriente ad Occidentem 270 Parasengas." Abulfeda ex Versione Ask.

² D'Anville Mesures Itin. 96.

happened in the neighbouring countries, and this sagacious traveller remarks, that on entering the bay of Astrabad, on the South side^a of the Caspian sea, it had gained so much on the coast and eaten it away, that in many parts of it, trunks of trees blocked up the shore and made it difficult to land. When the Russians first navigated the sea, they pretend that they found only five feet of water, during nine leagues to the South and South-East of Chiterie Bogorie; but for the last thirty years, the water hath deepened so much, that Mr. Hanway could not meet with any soundings at some distance from the coast, with a line of four hundred and fifty fathoms.^c

Perhaps these alterations may have been the reason of the uncertainty of the figure of the Caspian sea, with which the Orientals were as little acquainted as the Ancients. The former have sometimes supposed that it was round or oval, at other times that it was triangular, and like the sail usually carried by one of their oared vessels. The observations made in the reign of Czar Peter the first, at last determined its figure,^w though not exactly with geometrical

^a Hanway's Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian sea. Vol. 1. C. 25.--164. C. 26.--166.

^c Hanway's Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian sea. Vol. 1. C. 24.--155.

^w For the Honour of GREAT BRITAIN, the Moderns are indebted, as Dr. Robertson observes, (Historical Disquisition on India. 205.) to Anthony Jenkinson for the first correct idea of the Caspian sea. The following is what Hakluyt terms "a notable description" of it. "The Caspian sea (to say something of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred

geometrical precision, for the chart of Monsieur d'Anville, published in 1754, differs in many particulars from the Czar's laid down by de l'Isle. The gulph of Jemba, which forms a bay, whose shores are the most Northern parts of this sea, hath changed its shape in the chart of Monsieur d'Anville, and advances a degree and a half to the South.

The point with the name of Mertovit Kultuk, is there extended in Longitude more than any part of it in Monsieur de l'Isle's chart. The figure of the bay of Balkan hath experienced a similar variation, and in short Monsieur d'Anville's observations, have induced him to alter many of his predecessor's positions and bearings on the borders of this sea.—Herodotus assures us, that the Caspian sea had no communication with the neighbouring ones,* and Aristotle describes it as a lake, situated at the foot of
mount

hundred and fifty, without any issue to other seas: to the East whereof, joyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen; to the West, the countreys of the Chyrcaffes, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian sea a hundred leagues. To the North, is the river Wolga, and the Land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great ocean. It hath many goodly rivers falling into it, and it avoideth not it selfe except it be underground. The notable rivers that fall into it, are first the great river of Wolga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a Marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the sea, above two thousand English miles. It hath divers other goodly rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic and Yem: also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the rivers of Cyrus and Arask, and divers others."

Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. Vol. 1.--334.

* "Ἡ δὲ Κασπία θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἰωντῆς, ὁ συμμισγυσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θάλασσῃ." Herodot. Lib. 1.
--96.

mount Caucasus, and adds that they called this lake, which was circumscribed by the habitations of different people, a sea. ^y

Alexander's conquests, instead of confirming the want of a communication in the Caspian sea with the neighbouring ones, gave birth to a multitude of errors or lent them fresh credit and support. Diodorus Siculus ^z is the only one of the Conqueror's historians, that embraced the opinion of Herodotus; and though Plutarch confesses that the Macedonian Monarch could learn nothing certain of this sea, he still hath no scruples of advancing that it was a gulph of the Northern ocean. ^a This erroneous conclusion was adopted by most of the Greek and Latin writers, ^b whose names it is unnecessary to mention; and even the judicious Strabo ^c is not to be excepted, who criticises unjustly Polycletus, on his having termed the Caspian sea a lake. Monsieur de l'Isle believes, that the Ancients were deceived by the great resemblance between the

^y "Αλλ'ἢ γε ὑπο τον Καυκασον λιμνη, ἣν καλεσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ θαλασσαι." Arist. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.--770. Folio. 1654.

^z Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18.--260, 261.

^a "Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυναμείως εἰς Ἰρκανίαν κατεβαινὲς καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν κόλπον, καὶ ἐλαττονα μὲν τῇ ποντρὶ φανέντα, γλυκυτέρον δὲ τῆς ἀλλῆς θαλαττῆς, σαφὲς μὲν ἔσχεν εὐθεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, μαλιστα δὲ εἰκάσει τῆς Μαιωτιδίου λιμνῆς ἀνακοπήν εἶναι· καὶ τοὶ τῆς γε φυσικῆς ἀνδρας καὶ ἐλάθε ταληδες, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἐτίσιν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἰσθηκασιν ὅτι τεσσαρῶν κόλπων εἰσεκόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξω θαλάσσης, βορειοτάτῃ οὗτῃ εἰσιν, τὸ Ἰρκανιον πελάγος καὶ Κασπίον ὅμῃ προσαγορευόμενον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

^b Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. C. 15. Tom. 1.--668, 669, &c. &c.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 2. —Dionys. Perieg. V. 722. Eustath. Comment. 96. Ed. Steph. 4^{to} 1577.—J. Solinus. C. 21.

^c Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

the strait, by which they supposed this sea opened into the Northern ocean, and the mouth of the Volga. This river runs from the North in a Southerly direction, and widens at its entrance into the Caspian sea, which receives many rivers without ever overflowing. The phænomenon may be perhaps explained on the principles of evaporation, by which a quantity of water passes off, equal to that, which the sea receives.^d

A conjecture, not less probable, arises from the route of the Scythians, when they formerly engaged in commerce on the Northern ocean. They mounted the Volga and the Kama, and to reach the Petzora, which throws itself into this sea, they carried their merchandise about half a league over land, though it was not mentioned, being only a trifle in comparison of their tedious passage by water.^e We have another example of this mode of executing a long voyage principally on rivers, in the chart of Japan, which Kœmpfer brought along with him into Europe, and deposited in Sir Hans Sloane's museum. It hath been since published by Monsieur de Guignes.^f The Saghalion, is there represented as united by the lake Paikal or Baikalmore to the Lena, notwithstanding there are two carrying-places in this route. The
North

^d See the very ingenious theory of Dr. Halley. *Philosoph. Transact.* 1687.--186. 202. Perry (State of Russia) hath even calculated the quantity of water, which the Caspian sea received from the Volga every minute.

^e *Considerat. Geograph.* par Mons. Buache. 147.

^f *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, Tom. 28.--503.

North American Indians, entertain nearly the same ideas with the Japanese, on the junction of their respective lakes and rivers, as may be gathered from a comparison of the chart, traced by Ochagach the Indian, before the French officers sent to make discoveries, and the observations, which they had personally made.^s Champlain, to whom the French establishment in Canada owed its origin, related that the Indians informed him by mounting the Saguenay, in forty or fifty days he might arrive at the Northern ocean. We know decidedly that this river receives that of the Choumatau, by which there is a passage, with one carrying-place to the lakes of the Mistassins, and from these lakes they descend by the Kiche-Kupitan, or the great opening into Hudson's bay.

Objects frequently present themselves under the same aspect to those people, whose knowledge is very limited, and to those, who are not civilized. The Scythians were the Savages of the ancient Continent, and it is from their accounts, that Scymnus of Chio, in all likelihood, hath related that the Tanais derives its source from the Araxes,^h which is the Rha or Volga. But the Araxes was a term applied by the Ancients to many rivers, notwithstanding Herodotus principally designates by it the Volga, which approaches very near the Twia, at the distance of eight leagues from the
Tanaïs,

^s Considerat. Geograph. de Mons. Buache. Chart 8.

^h "Εἰς ἣν ὁ Ταναις ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβὼν
τὸ πρὶν Ἀραξέως ἐπιμισγεταί."

Scymni Fragm. 128, 129. Geog. Vet. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.--50.

Tanais,^l of which it was supposed by Aristotle to be a branch.^k The Scythians, who navigated the two rivers, circulated a report that they joined each other, just as the Caspian sea was imagined to have had a communication with the Ocean. A passage of Artemidorus, published a few years^l since, confirms this explanation, and we learn from it, that the Tanais had two openings, by one of which it fell into the Palus Mæotis, and by the other flowed into Scythia. The Rha or Wolga is to be understood by the latter, that crosses Asiatic Scythia before it throws itself into the Caspian sea, which Artemidorus after Aristotle's opinion, adopted also by Ptolemy, considers as a branch of the Tanais.

This is not, however, the only example in geography of such communications,^m which may be traced to the Scythians. The whole space of country between the Euxine and Caspian seas being inhabited by these people, the Phasis, Araxes, and many other rivers, which on a junction with them lost their own names, served to connect them with the different tribes of their extended nation,

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tion,

^l The Baron de St. Croix observes also that even this distance is reduced by two other rivers, one of which runs into the Don, and the other into the Wolga. See likewise Perry's State of Russia.

^k "Καὶ ὁ Ἀραξὴς τὴν δὲ τὸν Ταναις ἀποσχιζέται μετ' αὐτῶν." Aristot. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.---768.

^l Vangoens Notes on Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum. 87.

^m There is a very curious and intelligent memoir of Monsieur Buache, on the supposed communications of different rivers and seas, which have in our times disappeared. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences.

tion, and with a very short passage over land, which they do not mention, they generally moved by water. Their relations might then have very naturally established the supposed junction of the Phasis and Araxes with the Lycus, of which Apollonius Rhodiusⁿ hath spoken. That of the Ister with the Ionian sea or Adriatic gulph and the Pontus Euxinus, which we are told of by the same author, have no other origin. The Greek poet adopted the opinion of Timagetes,^o who assures us that the Argonauts on mounting the Ister reached the sea, which bathes the sides of Italy^p and part of Greece. We know the Danube, at some distance from its rise,

ⁿ “—————Παρα προχοῇσι Λυκοῖο,
 Ὅ τ’ ἀποκιδναμένῳ ποταμῷ κελαδοντῷ Ἀραξέω
 Φασιδὶ συμφέρεται ἱέρον ροόν· οἱ δὲ συν ἀμφῷ
 Καυκάσιην ἄλαδ’ εἰς ἐν ελαυνόμενοι προχέουσιν.”

Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 132—134.

See also the Scholia. Ed. Hoelzlin. 398. 8^{vo} L. B. 1641.

• “Ce poete a suivi l’opinion de Timosthenes.” “Τιμαγῆτῳ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ λιμένων, τὸν Ἰέρον φησὶ καταφέρεισθαι ἐκ τῶν Κελτικῶν ὄρων· εἶτα ἐκδιδόνειν εἰς Κελτικὴν λιμῆν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς δύο σχιζεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον εἰσβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ὁματῶν πλεῦσαι τῆς Ἀργοναυτίας, καὶ ελθεῖν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν· κατακολληθεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ.” (Scholia. ad Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 258. Ed. Hoelzlin. 409.) The Baron de St. Croix for Timagetes hath boldly substituted Timosthenes, who had, he says, the command of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was the author of some geographical details in ten books. The name, however, of Timagetes again occurs in the commentary on the 284th Verse of the 4th Book of Apollonius Rhodius, and I have restored it. From the repetition of the words, it cannot be supposed to be an error.

^p “Ἐνθα διχῆ το μὲν ἐνθα μετ’ Ἴονιην ἄλα βάλλει
 Τηδ’ ὕδωρ, τὸ δ’ ὅπισθε βαδὺν διὰ κόλπον ἴησι
 Σχιζόμενῳ πόντῳ Τρινακρίῃ εἰσανέχοντα.”

Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. --289—291.

rife, approaches the Adriatic gulph, with which a communication might easily be opened, if a junction of it was formed with the river, which runs into the Adriatic gulph near Aquilea, and which is only separated from the Danube by a narrow tract of country.

It is then very probable that Patroclus, who commanded the fleets of Seleucus and Antiochus, might more easily have taken the mouths of the Volga for a strait,^a as the mistake was supported by the opinions of the natives, and they went by water to the Northern ocean. This navigator would naturally lose no time in publishing his pretended discovery, or rather the confirmation of the report of the Macedonians, who followed Alexander; and from this circumstance we may date the errors of the cotemporary and later writers. P. Mela hath represented this strait, which served as a communication with the Caspian sea and that of the Northern ocean, as long, very narrow, like a river, and continuing its course in a direct line, as it approached its opening into the sea. Under this description the Volga cannot be mistaken.

Ptolemy, with the advantage of various relations, comes over to the sentiments of Herodotus, Aristotlé, Diodorus Siculus and Polycletus, and he tells us in his geography, that the Caspian sea

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is

^a Strabo. Lib. 2.

^r "Mare Caspium, ut angusto, ita longo etiam freto, primum terras, quasi fluvius, irrumpit."

P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--266.

is furrounded on all sides by land, and that it resembles, when compared to the Continent, an island in the midst of the waves.^a

In the number of events and revolutions, which Providence hath brought about in different ages of the world, though they may have been fatal to the inhabitants of the countries that were immediately exposed to them, the circle of human knowledge was certainly extended. By one of these political convulsions, the opinions respecting the Caspian sea were reduced to a certainty, and its supposed communication with the Ocean proved to have been imaginary. Under the Arabian Caliphs the Northern regions were explored, and their conquests and incursions are clearly ascertained by the medals of these Sovereign princes, that are often found in the ancient tombs which are so numerous on the borders of Petzora.^b It was then generally known, that the Caspian sea had no communication whatever with the Northern ocean, and Abulfeda indeed with the other Oriental geographers were never ignorant of it.^w—Arrian,^x however, and Q. Curtius^y have notwithstanding

^a Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 5.

^b Strahlenberg's Hist. Geographical Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia. Sect. 6.--117.

^w "Nec conjungitur cum mari ambiente, nec cum alio ex maribus de quibus sermo præcessit."
Abulfeda ex Versione Ask. Eldrisi. Geog. Nub. 243.

^x Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 26.--396.

^y "Quidam credidere, non Caspium mare esse; sed ex Indiâ in Hyrcaniam cadere." Q. Curtius, Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--411, 412.

notwithstanding declared that the Caspian sea had a communication with the Indian ocean, by which the tract of land between the two seas must be considerably narrowed. This erroneous idea of the two historians perhaps induced Artemidorus to believe, that the Caspian sea was at no great distance from the Ocean,^z and that the Caspians, who dwelt upon its shores, were the borderers of Persia; from which, that part of Asia situated between the Caspian sea and Indian ocean, the latter including the whole expanse of water that washes the Southern side of Asia, was diminished five degrees in Latitude, and all the nations, that occupied this space of country, are made to disappear.

We learn from Polycletus,^a that the water of the Caspian sea was fresh, and Plutarch^b and Q. Curtius^c have adopted the opinion, which is not altogether destitute of truth. Abulfeda relates, after a traveller, whose name he does not mention, that the water of this sea changes its colour on the Northern shore, and that it is freshened so much by the river Atal or Atalcus, which is the modern Volga, as to be serviceable even at the distance of a day's
fail,

^z “Περὶ τῆς Κασπίης θαλάσσης ἴσως Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν γεωγραφημένων ἐστὶ δε πλεῖστον τῆς Ὠκεανῆς.” Schol. ad Appol. Rhod. Lib. 3. V. 858. Ed. Hoelzlin. L. B. 8^{vo} 1641.

^a “Πολυκλείτης δὲ καὶ πρὶς προσφέρειται περὶ τῆς λίμνης εἶναι τὴν θαλάτταν ταύτην καὶ ὑπογλυκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

^b “Γλυκυτέρον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

^c “Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant: et argumentum adferunt: aquam, quo dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere.” Q. Curtius, Lib. 6. C. 4.--410.

fail, which may be calculated at nearly twelve leagues.^d Father Avril on the contrary limits its effects, and assures us that the fresh water extends only two leagues from the shore.^e The Ancients, who seldom ventured out of the sight of land, concluded that the rest of the Caspian sea was like that, which they had before their eyes, but Le Bruyn^f and many other travellers^g have not forgotten to mention the singularity. Perhaps we may be tempted to suppose, with Monsieur de Buffon,^h that it became only salt slowly, and by degrees. The rivers, that lose themselves in this sea, have continually brought along with them salts, which they detached from the earth in their passages, and these salts have not been dissipated by evaporation. It is possible also, that the difference between Abulfeda and Father Avril, may be owing to the observations made on the different parts of the coasts, on which they landed. The freshness of the Caspian sea could not have been always the same at an equal distance from the coast, but
must

^d "Mercator, qui in hoc mari navigavit, ita dicens, cum ad finem illius maris ad septentrionem pervenimus, illam aquam falsam ac limpidam colore mutatam comperi; tunc dictum fuit mihi illam aquam esse fluminis Atalci maris aquis mixtam, cumque ex illâ bibissem eam dulcem esse deprehendi, et ita prope diem per mare dulce navigavimus." Abulfeda ex Vers. Ask.

^e Voyages en divers Etats d'Europe et d'Asie. 86.

^f Voyages de Le Bruyn. Tom. 3.--459. Ed. 4^{to}

^g Voyages d'Olearius. 513.

^h Histoire Naturelle. Tom. 2.--176. Ed. 12^{mo} The Baron de St. Croix observes that Pliny appears to strengthen Monsieur de Buffon's system. "Præterea apud Bactros amnes Ochus et Oxus, ex appositis montibus deferunt salis ramenta." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4.--805. 4^{to} 1685.

must have varied according to the quantity of water, which the neighbouring rivers poured into it, and the velocity with which it was discharged, as it would be conveyed to a distance proportionable with its rapidity. Strabo reproaches the companions of Alexander's arms with the invention of many falsities on the subject of the Caspian sea,ⁱ and with having confounded it with the Palus Mæotis: Plutarch^k and Q. Curtius^l inform their readers that this lake of European Scythia joined the Palus Mæotis, but this error may be attributed to the incorrect notions of the Ancients relative to the lake Aral, which they imagined to be the Palus Mæotis.—Herodotus relates that the country inhabited by the Chorasmians, the Hyrcanians and some other people, was watered by the river Aces or Akes. The precise place, where it disgorged itself, was between two mountains:^m being banked up and secured with locks by the orders of the king of Persia, its course was thus stopped, and it formed a spacious lake, covering the plain between the two mountains.ⁿ The whole country became
very

ⁱ “Προσεδοξασθη δε κ̃ περι της θαλαττης πολλα ψευδη δια την Αλεξανδρου φιλοτιμιαν—————εις εν εν συνηγον την τε Μαιωτιν λιμνην την δεχομενην τον Τανχιν, κ̃ την Κασπιαν θαλατταν.” Strabo. 11. --777.

^k “Μαλιςα δε εικασε της Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ανακοπην ειναι.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

^l “Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

^m The Baron de St. Croix observes these Locks are termed by Sherefeddin “Coluga,” or the “Iron Gate.” Hist. de Timur. Lib. 3. C. 2. Lib. 6. C. 23.

ⁿ “Τας διασφαγας των υδρων ενδειμας ο βασιλευς, πυλας επ’εκαση διασφαγι εσησε· αποκεκλημενυ δε τη υδατῳ της εξοδου, το πεδιον το εντῳ των υδρων, πελαγῳ γινεται.” Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

very clamorous on the occasion, and the Persian monarch, throwing down the mound, which he had ordered to be erected, the Akes or Aces returned into its old channel, and on the usual tribute being paid, was again permitted to fertilize the country. ° In this description the Oxus is clearly ascertained, and the pass of Dehani-Chir, where the river is compressed into a narrow compass is exactly pointed out. We need not be astonished that Herodotus, who took up his information from report, should have confounded this pass with the lake formed by the waters of the Oxus, which is in fact the Aral. The mountains or bold steep sides, with which it is surrounded gave some reason for the mistake, and the Greek historian had certainly some proper ideas of this lake, known afterwards under the name of the Oxian lake, though all of them were not correct. In the remotest antiquity indeed, the Oxus always in some measure ran into this lake, and augmented it with at least some part of its waters.

The Turkish geographer informs us, that the Dgeihoun, which is the Oxus, on quitting the sands, which will be hereafter taken notice of, divides itself into many streams; those of Kiahvare, Hezar-Arb, Kierdan Kierb, and Hare, supply the whole country with

° “ *Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν σφί παραδιδῶται τῆ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τῆς Περσίας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, πάντες καὶ ἄλλας θυρὰς τῆ βασιλείας, ἑώρασι ὠρυόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μαλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πυλᾶς τὰς ἐς τὸ φέρουσας· ἐπεὶ δὲ διακοῖται ἡ γῆ σφῶν γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πυλᾶι ἀποκλῆνται, ἀλλὰς δ’ ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἀλλοῖσι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μαλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν· ὥς δ’ ἐγὼ οἶδ’ ἀκυσσας, χεῖματα μεγάλα πρησσομένη ἀνοίγει, παρὰ τὴν πόρην.*” Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

with water and are navigable.^p Some of the branches of the Dgeihoun throw themselves into the lake Kharefm or Aral, whilst this river passes along the valley of Kierlave, roaring so as to be heard to the distance of two leagues, and afterwards discharges itself into the Caspian sea near Kahlkahl, ten days' journey from Charefmus.

These details serve to illustrate the text of Ptolemy, from whom we learn that many streams rise in the Sogdian mountains, situated between two rivers. These two rivers can only be the Oxus and Iaxartes, that receive the tributary streams, of which one forms the Oxian lake.^q Ammianus Marcellinus, who hath often translated Ptolemy, and sometimes appears to have added to him, gives us some idea of the Oxian lake by the expression of "far and widely extended,"^r which can only agree with the lake of Aral. Pliny also mentions it by name, but he is mistaken in the supposition of its being the source of the Oxus,^s that Ptolemy fixes in the thirty-ninth degree of Northern Latitude,^t the lake being in

V v

the

^p Geograph. Turc. 821, 822. and 884, 885.

^q *ὅτι εἰς ποιεῖ τὴν Ὀξίανην λίμνην.* Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

^r "Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt longe lateque diffusam." (Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--410, 411. 4^{to} L. B. 1693.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Ammianus Marcellinus hath translated the Greek word "*λίμνην*" of Ptolemy by "paludem" whereas it signifies both a lake and a marsh or fen, and that the former term would have agreed better both with the actual state of the Oxian lake, and the text of the Greek geographer.

^s "Oxus amnis, ortus in lacu Oxo." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--676.

^t Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

the forty-fifth, which perfectly corresponds with the modern observations. It is true that the Greek geographer allows this Latitude to the middle of the lake, which should have been given to the Northern side of it, but the error is the result of the Ptolemean system, which throws back all the part of Asia beyond the Paropamisus, much farther North than it really is. Monsieur de l'Isle hath remarked, with great propriety, that the mouth of the Volga, which ought to be placed at the forty-sixth degree, is to be found at the forty-ninth, and the Southern shore of the Caspian sea at the fortieth degree instead of the thirty-seventh,* an inaccuracy of great consequence and moment. With these errors, it is extraordinary that Ptolemy should have so nearly approached the true Latitude of the Aral or Kharezm, which is still called Ogouz by the Tartars. Its ancient name of Oxian was derived from the Oxus, of which the Aces or Akes was probably a corruption, and the affinity of the Oxus with the modern Ogouz is easily perceptible.

In the Calmuck and Mungal tongues, Ongon signifies the Gift of God, and Ogouz seems to be derived from this word. The Carakalpak Tartars, that inhabit the country near the lake Aral, conduct a thousand little streams from it over their sandy plains, and when the water is evaporated, their surface is covered with a sort of crystallized salt, which is the only one these Tartars as well as those of Casastichia-Orda, and of Charezmus are able to procure.

* *Memoire sur la mer Caspienne, Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences, 1721. 248.*

procure. From the great advantages which all these nations receive from the Aral, its Tartar name may have been given to it on principles of gratitude, and they might consider it as one of the immediate gifts of heaven. On the whole, it may be reasonably inferred, that the Oxian lake is that of the Ogouz or Aral, which was known to the ancient geographers, though the contrary hath been supposed. ^x

Polycletus ^y had confounded the Palus Mæotis with the Caspian sea, which received into it, according to Plutarch ^z and Q. Curtius, ^a this species of lake, whose true position Arrian ^b hath established in his history of Alexander's expeditions. From this circumstance, however, the Periplus of the Erythrean sea appears to have been falsely attributed to this Greek historian, as its author

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hath

^x The Baron de St. Croix observes, though Monsieur de Buffon assures us before the conquest of Peter the 1st "On ignoroit jusqu'à l'existence du lac Aral, qui en est éloigné (de la mer Caspienne) vers l'Orient, d'environ cent lieus, ou si on connoissoit quelques unes des cotés de ce lac Aral, on croyoit que c'étoit une partie de la mer Caspienne," (Hist. Nat. Tom. 2.--160. Ed. 12^{mo}) that Eldrisi, who composed his Work in the 527th year of the Hegira, which answers to the 1149th and 1150th of the Vulgar Era, expressly mentions the lake of Aral, Kharem, or Chouarasm, according to the Maronite orthography, and that it is accurately distinguished from the Caspian sea. (Climat. 3. Part. 8.--138. Ed. 1619.) Abulfeda also speaks of this lake under the name of the Chourasmian lake, which opens into the Dgeihoun or Gihon. Descript. Chorasm. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 3.--23.

^y Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

^z De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

^a Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

^b Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254. See also Dodwell. Dissert. in Script. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 4.--85.

hath advanced, that the Palus Mæotis and Caspian sea discharge their waters together into the Ocean.^c

These errors, respecting the communication of the two seas, possibly afforded reason for Clitarchus^d to believe, that the Caspian sea and the Pontus Euxinus were the same. Q. Curtius perhaps adopted the opinion,^e but he is little solicitous as to any consequences, which depend upon his sentiments, and both relates contrary hypotheses, and admits them without caution or distinction. The name of Tanais given to the Iaxartes, from a corruption of the word Iksæerte, which in the Mungal language conveys the idea of a great river, may have strengthened the opinion. Diodorus Siculus,^f Justin,^g and Q. Curtius^h have confounded these
two

^c "Καθ' ἑν." Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--37.

^d "Qui a crû que la mer Caspienne étoit la même que celle du pont Euxin." The Baron de St. Croix supports the assertion by a reference to "Nam et irrumpit e Scythico oceano in averfa Asiæ, pluribus nominibus accolarum appellatum, celeberrimis duobus, Caspio et Hyrcanio. Non minus hoc esse quam Pontum Euxinum, Clitarchus putat." (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668.) Of the validity of the evidence the reader will judge.

^e "Opinion adoptée par Q. Curce." The Baron de St. Croix directs his readers to the following passages. "Cum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant quidquid fabuli in campis jacet converrunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--509.) "Asiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et in Ponticum decidunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--501.) On the former, Cellarius hath defended the Latin historian, though weakly, and argues that the wind blows, in the same direction, both from the Euxine and Caspian seas towards Bactria: in the latter, Q. Curtius seems to have distinguished them. I have added the hypothetical "Perhaps."

^f Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

^g Justin. Lib. 12. C. 5.--315.

^h Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 6. Tom. 2.--525. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531, 532.

two rivers, which Plutarchⁱ and Arrian^k have discriminated, though the pride and vanity of the Macedonians wished to unite them.^l

Ptolemy^m knew the difference, but bowing with submission to the authority of the historians of the Conqueror of Asia respecting the altars, which this Prince erected on the banks of the Iaxartes in memory of his conquests, the Greek geographer hath transported them near the river Tanais, where, after running in a Southerly direction from its source, it approaches the Rha, and then turning to the West, stretches to the Palus Mæotis, in which it loses itself.

The Greek geographer following the same guides, hath multiplied the Scythians, as well as the Aorfes and Agathyrses. These nations inhabited one side of the Tanais, where Ptolemy places them,ⁿ but he reckons them, notwithstanding, a second time
amongst

ⁱ De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

^k Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254.

^l "Επειδη γαρ ὁμολογητο, ὅτι εκ παντων διειργει την Ασιαν απο της Ευρωπης ὁ Ταναις ποταμὸς, το δε μεταξυ της θαλαττης, καὶ το Ταναιδὸς πολυ μερὸς της Ασιας ον, εχ'ὑπεπιπτε τοις Μακεδοσι." Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

^m Ptolemy. Lib. 3. C. 5. The Baron de St. Croix accuses the editor of Ptolemy with a wilful intention of misunderstanding him, and of removing the altars in opposition to the Text of Ptolemy, to the foot of the Riphæan mountains.

ⁿ Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

amongst the Asiatic Scythians.^o If Pliny^p appears to have not entirely avoided this mistake, he distinguishes at least by additional names the people of European Scythia, that he places near the Caspian sea, and understands the Aorles by the Nasotiani, and the Arimaspians by the Cacidari.^q But perhaps these Asiatic Scythians were colonies of the European Scythians, and preserved their names after their migrations.

The ignorance of Q. Curtius equalled his credulity. Deceived by the name of the Tanais, improperly given to the Iaxartes, he sweeps from the surface of the earth all Asia situated between these two rivers, and speaks of Bactria as the last province of Asia, and separated only from Europe by the Tanais, which he considers as the boundary of these two quarters of the world.^r In direct contradiction to such a declaration, he pretends in another part of his work, that the Scythians, who lived above the Cimmerian

^o Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 14.

^p "Ultraque Chorasmii, Candari, Attasini, Paricani, Sarangæ, Parrhasini, Maratiani, Nasotiani, Aorli, Gelæ, quos Græci Cadusios appellavere, Matiani." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675, 676.

^q "Arimaspi antea Cacidari." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

^r "Tanaïs Europam et Asiam medius interfluit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.) "Bactrianos Tanaïs ab Scythiis, quos Europæos vocant, dividit. Idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit. ——— Si vero Tanaim transierimus ——— Quis dubitavit patere etiam Europam victoribus? ——— unus amnis interfluit, quem si trajicimus, in Europam arma proferimus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531——535.

merian Bosphorus, belonged to Asia.⁹ The region, which extends above the Bosphorus and Palus Mæotis, is notwithstanding to the West of the Tanais, and consequently situated in Europe, and is inhabited by the Roxolanes and Iazyges, two nations of European Scythians.¹ Q. Curtius hath fallen into this error, from having varied the situation of the mouths and the course of the Tanais, and advanced the Longitude five degrees.² He adds afterwards, that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians sprung, did not come originally from the Bosphorus, but out of Europe.³ In this manner he removes the Cimmerian Bosphorus into Asia, whilst the strait, by which the Palus Mæotis discharges itself into the Pontus Euxinus, forms the separation of Asia and of Europe, whose limits have been so strangely described.

The false and erroneous position of many nations is a necessary consequence. The Cercetes, the Mosynæcians, and the Chalybians, are placed on the left of the Caspian sea, and the Leucosyrans and the Amazons on the right.⁴ But the ancient geographers

⁹ "Qui super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiæ." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--398.

¹ Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

² "Nec dubitatur, quin Scythæ, qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex regione Europæ penetraverint." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.

⁴ "Cercetæ, Mosyni, et Chalybes a lævâ sunt: ab alterâ parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi; et illos qua vergit ad septentrionem; hos ad occasum conversa prospectat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--409.

phers have uniformly established the Mosynœcians, the Chalybians, and their neighbours the Cercetes, called in later times the Apaïtes, in the mountains near the Pontus Euxinus,^y and the Leucosyrians were the inhabitants of Cappadocia,^z whose situation is well known, as well as the country of the fabulous Amazons, who were supposed to have occupied the plains of Themiscyra,^a on the banks of the Thermodon. A single error in geography is the parent of many others, and Q. Curtius again justifies the observation. This Latin historian, after having varied the position of the Chalybians, adds that they were neighbours to the great cities of Sinope and Amifus.^b Amifus was at the distance of twelve hundred Olympic stadia to the North-East of the Chalybians,^c and Sinope, a celebrated

^y Strabo. Lib. 12.--825.—Scylax. 79.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 768.—Et Eustathii Comment. ad Loc.—Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 5.--379. 4th Oxon. 1735. These Mosynœci were also called Mossuni, and the learned reader may consult on the etymology of the name, Apollonius Rhodius. Lib. 2. V. 1018. &c. with the Scholia on it, and also on Lib. 5. V. 379.—Bochart. Phaleg. 3.-12.

^z Herodotus. Lib. 1.--35. All the tract washed by the river Halys seems to be called, by the ancient authors, indiscriminately, Syria, Assyria and Leucosyria. See Apoll. Rhod. 947—966. with the Scholia.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 733.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--819.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 3. Tom. 1.--651.

^a Strabo. Lib. 12.--823.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 19.--108, 109.

^b "Cet historien, apres avoir changé la situation des Chalybes, ajoute que ce peuple étoit vois in de deux villes celebres, Sinope et Amifus." The Baron de St. Croix must be responsible for his own assertion, for though he refers his readers to the fourth Chapter of the sixth Book of Q. Curtius, not a syllable respecting either Sinope or Amifus is to be found in it.

^c See the Chart of Asia Minor by d'Anville.

brated city of Paphlagonia, was twelve hundred stadia to the North-West of Amifus.^d

OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES of HIGHER ASIA.

Pharasmanes the king of the Chorasmians came, according to Arrian, to meet Alexander, and he assured him, that he was a neighbour of Colchis and the Amazons, which is an absurd mistake, and originated like that of Q. Curtius, already noticed. The Chorasmians resided on the banks of the Oxus, to the East of the Caspian sea, a position, which Ptolemy hath accurately marked,^e who is far from multiplying this nation, as hath been unjustly objected to him.^f The name of Kharefm or Khoarefm, which hath been preserved with its ancient position by the Orientals,^g sufficiently

X x

ciently

^d Marcian of Heraclea, (Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--74.) the Baron de St. Croix remarks, only reckons three hundred and fifty stadia between Sinope and Amifus, and he supposes an error in the numerical letters. Instead of the "τ ν" he reads "α ν," which will then agree with the calculation of the author of the Periplus Euxinus. "Απο δε Σινωπης εις Καρυσαν πεντηκοντα κ' εκατον (σταδιοι.)-----ενθενδε εις Ζαγωρα αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα κ' εκατον ενθενδε εις τον Αλυν ποταμον, τριακοσιοι-----απο δε Αλυν ποταμου εις Ναυσαθρον, σταδιοι ενενηκοντα-----ενθενδε εις Κωνωπειον αλλην λιμνην, αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα; Απο δε Κωνωπειου εις Ευσηνην εκατον κ' εικοσι ενθενδε εις Αμιφον εκατον κ' εξηκοντα." Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Euxin. 127, 128. 8^{vo} Amst. 1682.

^e Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

^f Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. 25.--52.

^g Abulfeda, Geograph. Min. Tom. 3.--20.—Eldrisi, Geog. Min. 138.

ciently demonstrates the situation of this Scythian people, a tribe of the Saques or rather Saces, who were an Abian colony.

Alexander's historians have been accused of transporting the Abians of Europe into Asia,^h but carrying our inquiries far back, they may possibly be justified. The Scythians have in fact occupied almost all the Northern regions of the ancient Continent, or with a greater accuracy of expression, the uniformity of manners and modes of life, so visible in the different tribes of people, who inhabited that extensive tract of country, gave the Greeks some reasons to comprise them under the general name of Scythians. Their proper name, we are told by Herodotus, was that of the Scolotes, derived from one of their kings:ⁱ they were considered only as one people, and in this sense is Thucydides also to be understood, when speaking of their force and power.^k Superior in numbers to any other nation in Europe or in Asia, when united they were irresistible, and in reality they both peopled many countries, and spread themselves almost over the face of the whole earth.

The geographers distinguished the Scythians by the European and Asiatic Scythians, but the term is too vague and comprehensive. They
may

^h Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 26.--50.

ⁱ "Συμπασι δε ειναι ονομα Σκολοτης, τυ βασιλευς επωνυμην· Σκυθας δε Έλληνες ονομασαν." Herodot. Lib. 4.--282, 283.

^k "Ταυτη δε αδυνατα εξισοσθαι υχ' οτι τα εν τη Ευρωπη, αλλα' εν τη Ασιη εθνη εν προς εν εστιν ο, τ, δυνατον Σκυθαις ομογνωμονει πασιν αντισηναι." Thucydides. Hist. Lib. 2.--163.

may be more properly classed in the two separate divisions of the Nomades or wandering Scythians, and the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country on which they settled. Ephorus has adopted the division.¹ In the origin indeed of society, it is perhaps the only one of any service in ascertaining the different nations of the world. Both the progress of civilization, which always strikes at the root of morality, and the foundation of towns and cities, that constantly increase at the expence of the surrounding countries, whose inhabitants they regularly swallow up, whilst at the same time they introduce a luxury, that soon renders contemptuous the sober duties of rural life, have always put an end to these two classes, which for the happiness of every people, were originally their sole distinctions.—With the ancient Persians there was indeed no other,^m and they still subsist amongst the Tartars, who are the descendants of the Scythians. The powerful tribe of the Usbeck Tartars is divided into the Oulagets, who rove from place to place, and are shepherds by profession, and the Bukhars or Særtes, who live in villages, and have fixed habitations.ⁿ The shepherds or wandering Scythians were the most numerous, and included the Abians, a name which was given to any wandering nation, and which related to their form of life,

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that

¹ Strabo. Lib. 7.--463, 464.

^m Herodotus. Lib. 1.--62, 63.

ⁿ Strahlenberg's Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia.

that Horace has described,^o and in which, detached from those possessions that sometimes have an influence on the probity of the heart, they acquired a character of integrity, which even Homer celebrates.^p

Aristarchus pretends that the name of Abians was confined to a particular nation,^q and this opinion in some measure may agree with that which hath been adopted, and is authorized by the concurrent testimony of a crowd of writers, geographers, historians, and grammarians.^r This appellation, after having been applied in general to all the wandering nations, was afterwards restrained to those particular people, whose manners and way of life correspond most with the idea represented by the term of Abians. A passage of Scymnus of Chios, seems to set the subject in a clear light.

The

^o "Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt Domus."

Horat. Carm. Lib. 3.--24.--10.

Silius Italicus hath condensed the history of their life into the narrow compass of two lines.

"Nulla domus; plaustris habitant: migrare per arva,
Mos, atque errantes circumvehere Penates."

^p "Γλακτοφαγῶν, Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνδρῶπων." Hom. Iliad. 13. V. 6.

^q Apoll. Lexic. Tom. 1--13. And the ingenious conjecture of Monsieur de Villoison on the name of this people. 14.

^r "Τῆς ἀνέστης καὶ τῆς ἀμαζόνιος." Strabo. Lib. 7.--455.—Eustathius. ad V. 6. Homér. Iliad. 13.—Nicol. Damasc. de Mor. Gent. ad Calcem. Repul. Lac. Crag. 548. Οὐβιαῖοι, Δικαιοτάτης.—Hesych. in Voc. Ἀβίων.—Apoll. Lexic. 13, 14.—Etymol. Mag. Ed. Sylb. 232, 233.—Steph. Byzant. 6, 7.

The geographical poet, after having mentioned the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country that they occupied, following Ephorus his guide, adds, “many other people, who have no particular names, are shepherds, and from their religious principles treat their flocks with tenderness. They drink mares’ milk like the Scythians, and have only one common property. Anacharsis is said to have been born amongst these people, celebrated for their moral character, and many of these Scythians are supposed to have passed into Asia, and there formed settlements, where they took the name of Saces.” The same passage is likewise extracted from the fourth book of Ephorus, in the fragment of the Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, published by Vossius. Strabo after having cited it from Ephorus, joins to it the verses of the poet Chærilus, in which he says, that “the Saces were shepherds

“Τὸν Παντικαπὴ διαβάντι Λιμναίων ἐθνος,
 Ἑτέρα τε πλεονα εὐνονομασμένα,
 Νομαδικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ καλόμενα εὐσεβῆ πανν
 Ὡς ἔδεν ἐμψυχῶν ἀδίκησαι ποτ’ ἀν,
 Οἰκοφροσ δ’ ὥς εἰρηκε καὶ σιτημένα,
 Γαλακτι, ταῖς Σκυδικαῖς τε ἵππομολγαῖς
 Ζῶσι δὲ τὴν τε κτησὶν ἀναδεδειχότες
 Κοινὴν ἅπαντων τὴν τε ὅλην ἡσίαν·
 Καὶ τὸν σοφὸν Ἀναχάρσιν ἐκ τῶν Νομαδικῶν
 Φησὶ γενεσθαι τῶν σφοδρ’ εὐσεβεσάτων.
 ————— καὶ κατοικῆσαι τινὰς
 Εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐλθόντας, ὧς δὴ καὶ Σακάς
 Καλῆσιν·

Scymni Chii Fragm. 111-123. Geog. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 2. 49-50.

Added to Scylax. 138. Ed. Gronovii. 4^{to} L. B. 1700.

herds of Scythian origin, celebrated for their integrity, who inhabited Asia, a fertile country,"^w and he confirms the opinion of Ephorus.

We learn from Herodotus^x and Pliny,^y that the Persians included all the Scythians under the Saces, because this people agreeable to the ideas of the Roman Naturalist, was the nearest to their empire. But perhaps they might have other reasons, and the term had probably a different origin.

A knowledge of the old Runic tongue, the Slavonian dialects, and of the language of Thibet or Tangut, as well as of the Persian and Turkish idioms, would afford us undoubtedly great assistance in the explication of many Scythian names, but the surest and most useful would be the Mungal, which was so widely spread in

^w "Μηλονομοι τε Σακαι, γενεα Σκυθαι αυταρ εναιον
Ασιδα πυροφορον· νομαδων γε μεν ησαν αποικοι
Ανδρωπων νομιμων."

Strabo. Lib. 7.--464.

^x "Οι γαρ Περσαι παντας της Σκυθης καλεουσ Σακας." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

^y "Ultra sunt Scytharum populi Persæ, illos Sacas in universum appellavere a proximâ gente, antiqui Aramæos." (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.) The Greeks, the Baron de St. Croix remarks from Aristophanes, applied the term of "Saces" to those, who had no fixed place of residence, and were not Citizens of any town.

"Ημεις γαρ, ω'νδρες, οι παροντες εν λογω,
Νοσον νοσημεν την εναντιαν Σακα·
Ο μιν γαρ ων εκ ασθ, εισβιαζεται."

Aristoph. Aves. 30—38

in Asia.² The word Saki imports in it "I massacre," and it is very probable, that the Scythians in their bloody engagements with the Persians, cried out, when their enemies gave way, Sakib, Sakib,³ kill or massacre, and that the nation, whose language was not understood, took its name from the impression, which fear had profoundly graven on the heart, and the term, which it used itself in its combats. From Sakib or Saki the derivation of the Saces is naturally easy,^b who were also called Amourgians,^c according to Herodotus, from one of their kings, of whom Ctesias^d speaks, and not from Margus a river of Margia, as Monsieur Freret^e conjectures. The Saces in reality never inhabited this country, and differed but little from the Aspasiacians or rather Aspaciadians, as will be hereafter mentioned: but it may be first necessary to fix the position of the Abians.—Strabo speaks of the Saces as the most Eastern tribe of the Scythians beyond the Caspian sea, and he places them, like Marcian of Heraclea, on the same line with the Sogdians, near a ford of the Iaxartes, which facilitated their communication

² Strahlenberg. Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia.

³ Sakib in the Imperative, see the Mungal grammar in Thevenot.

^b Steph. Byzant. 580. Reland, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath traced the etymology of the word up to the Arabians. (Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Persarum in voce Sacæ.) The German extraction however of Wachter, in his Glossary, (1336) "Saka, nocere, vulnerare, damnum inferre," the Baron de St. Croix apprehends to be more legitimate.

^c "Τῆτες δὲ εὐντας Σκυθας Ἀμουργίης, Σακας ἐκαλεῖον." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

^d Phot. Bibl. 108.

^e Observations sur la Cyropédie. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. 7.--436.

communication with the Massagetes.^f Agathemerus assures us, that on coming from the West we find Sogdia and afterwards the Saces.^g Ptolemy enters into more satisfactory details, and informs his readers that the Saces had to the West, Sogdiana, and Scythia to the North, which was extended in a parallel line to the place where the Iaxartes changed its course,^h and after having run from East to West, turned towards the North-West. The country of the Saces, who were supported by their flocks, and never inhabited any towns, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, joined Sogdia,ⁱ and a district immediately contiguous to this province on the East, preserves even at this day the name of Sakita,^k which seems to have a near affinity with the ancient name of the Saces, and to point out the identity of the true position of these people.

Diodorus Siculus pretends, that all Scythia beyond the Edmodus or Emodus to the North of India, was occupied by the Saces;^l but we may easily discover that he was deceived, by the extent of territory, which the Persians allowed to this nation. Eratosthenes is
not

^f "Της δε προσεως τῆτων μαλλον Μασσαγίτας, κ' Σακας ονομαζουσι." Strabo. Lib. 11.--778.

^g "Εἴτα Σογδιανα, εἴτα Σακία." Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 6. 4^{to} L. B. 1700.

^h Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 13.

ⁱ "His contigui sunt Sacæ, natio fera, squalentia incolens loca solo pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta." Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--411. 4^{to} L. B. 1693.

^k Geographe Ancienne de Monsieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--319.

^l "Την δε προς τας Αρκτας το Ημωδον ορε' διερχει της Σκυθιας, ην κατοικουσι των Σκυθων οι προσαγορευομενοι Σακαι." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--148.

not less reprehensible, who separates the Scythians and the Sogdians by the Iaxartes,^m and we may judge of the accuracy of this geographer, respecting the North of Asia, from the position, which he gives to the Aracofians and Massagetes, on the banks of the Oxus near Bactria. Eratosthenes seems to consider these two nations as adjoining ones, whilst one was to the North of the Iaxartes, and the other to the West of the Paropamisus, and consequently about three thousand Olympic stadia from the Oxus.

As the Saces were a colony of Abians to the East of Sogdia, the historians of Alexander have incurred no just cause of censure from their transportation of this wandering tribe out of Europe into Asia, where some of them actually settled. Yet Arrian is not entirely unexceptionable, when he mentions towns belonging to these hordes,ⁿ who had no fixed and determinate place of residence, passing a vagrant life with their cars and waggons, and stopping only where they found a sufficiency of pasturage for their flocks and cattle. The foundation indeed of towns cannot be reconciled with the Scythian mode of life in general, and more particularly clashes with that of the Abian Saces. The series of events, which Arrian hath described, appear to indicate that the Scythians, who defended the passage of the Iaxartes were Abians,^o though we have more reason to believe that he meant the Massagetes,

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^m "Διεργειν δε Σακας μεν, κ' Σογδιανους τον Ιαξαρτην." Strabo. Lib. 11.~782.

ⁿ Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 1.--258.

^o ————— Lib. 4. C. 4.--264——267.

getes, whose situation, to the North of the river, made it more immediately necessary for them to oppose the progress of the Macedonian Monarch. They attended Spitamenes in his expedition against Bactria,^p after his irruption into Sogdia, in which he had been reduced to the necessity of raising the siege of Marcanda, and of retreating to take refuge amongst the wandering Scythians. Pharnuces, who pursued him, imprudently got into the midst of these people before he was aware of them,^q and this circumstance evidently proves, that they were the tribes of Abian Scythians. A body of troops might enter their country without having the difficulty of passing any river, and the Massagetes had the Iaxartes for a barrier. Pharnuces had been led on to a distance by the facility of his march, and when he was attacked by the Abian Saces, who had assisted Spitamenes, he was obliged to fly with all his cavalry.^r Arrian therefore ought not to have distinguished the Saces from the Asiatic Saces,^s and his opinion has been improperly adopted by many other writers. Ptolemy was undoubtedly led astray by their authority, who reckons the Abians the most Northern of the tribes of Scythians beyond mount Imaus.^t

The

^p “Σπιταμένης τε κὶ συν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγαδῶν, ἐς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγέτων καλεβμένων τὴν χώραν ἐυμπεφευγοντες, ἐυναγαγοντες τῶν Μασσαγέτων ἵππους ἑξακοσίους, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τι φρερίον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 16.--299.

^q Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 5.--268, 269.

^r ————— Lib. 4. C. 5.--269.

^s ————— Lib. 4. C. 1.--257, 258.

^t Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 15.

The Oxus separated Bactria from Sogdia, but Polybius tells us, that this river having risen in Caucasus, by which the Paropamisus is to be understood, rolls through Bactria, where it is augmented by numerous streams, that discharge themselves into it.^w It is certain however, that the Oxus received almost as many rivers, which opened into it from Sogdia as from Bactria. The expressions of this able historian, might induce us to suppose that he placed the Oxus in the centre of Bactria, since it is in Bactria, that he supposed it to be principally swoln by the various rivers that run into it. Dionysius the geographer hath stated a supposition nearly as erroneous, and makes the Oxus to cross Sogdia,^x whilst it serves from its source to separate the two provinces of Bactria and Sogdia.^y Polybius farther informs us, that the Aspasiacian Scythians, residing between the Tanais, which throws itself into the Palus Mæotis, and the Oxus, whose stream loses itself in the Caspian sea, crossed the latter river to make incursions into Hyrcania.^z But the Greek historian must have been deceived by the improper name given to the Iaxartes, and has in consequence fallen into the

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same

^w “Ὁ γὰρ Ὀξὺς ἐχει μὲν ἐκ τῆς Καυκάσου τὰς πηγὰς· ἐπὶ πολὺ δ’ αὐξήθεις ἐν τῇ Βακτριᾷ, συρρεόντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὕδατων, φερεται διὰ πεδιάδων χωρὰς, πολλὰ καὶ θολερὰ ρεύματα.” Polybius. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--303, 304. 8^{vo} Lips. 1790.

^x “Τοῖς δ’ ἐπὶ πρὸς Βορρην Χορασμιοῖς· οἷς ἐπὶ γαίᾳ Σογδίας, ἥς διὰ μέσσον ἐλίσσεται ἱερὸν Ὀξὺς· ὅς τε λιπὼν Ἡμῶδον ὄρεα, μετὰ Κασπίδα βαλλει.”

Dionys. Perieg. 746—748.

^y “Ὅς ὀρίζει τὴν τε τῶν Βακτριῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Σογδιῶν.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

^z “Περαῖσμενοι τὸν Ὀξόν, εἰς τὴν Ἰρκανίαν ἐρχονται.” Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48.--303.

same errors with the historians of Alexander's life and actions. The remainder of his narrative proves decisively, that this Scythian nation, which he meant by the Aspasiacians were the Saces: the term Aspasiacians might be an additional appellation to some particular tribe of them.^a The Aspasiacian Scythians, we are told, had the Oxus only to pass in their irruptions into Hyrcania, and if their country was situated between the Oxus and the real Tanais, it must have included an immense tract of country, and a multitude of rivers must have opposed their numerous barriers to them, instead of which Polybius only takes notice of the Oxus. This river rolled over rocks, and formed according to some authors a kind of natural bridge of a stadium in length, over which the Scythians passed without difficulty;^b but others supposed, that they took advantage of the place, where the Oxus disappears and runs underground for some distance. The first of these opinions may not have been totally fictitious, as the Dgeihon or Amu, the Oxus of the Ancients, separates into many branches in the cantons of Balk and Termed, and afterwards collecting again its divided streams, passes between two mountains, by a narrow chasm called Dehani-Chir

^a Ptolemy, in the Baron de St. Croix's opinion, hath distinguished, without any authority, the Aspasians or Aspasiacians from the Saces, and given the Aspasians a position too far North.

^b “Δια δε τῆς τῆ τοπῆ φασὶ τῆς Ασπασιακῆς παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν πετρὰν ὑπο τὴν καταφορὰν τῆ ποταμῆ περὶ μετὰ τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίην· ὁ δ’ ἐτέρῳ λογῷ ἐπιμειξερὰν ἔχει τὴ προσδεῖν τὴν ἀποφασιν· τὴ γὰρ ὑποκείμενῃ τοπῇ μεγάλῃς ἐχούτῃ πλαταμῶνας, εἰς ἧς καταρρατῆι, τῆς φασὶ τῇ βίᾳ τῆ ρευματῶς ἐκκοιλαινόντα καὶ διαρρηγνύντα κατὰ ἑαυτῷ, ὑπο γῆν φερεσθῆναι τοπὸν ἢ πολλόν, εἴτ’ ἀναφαινεσθῆναι πάλιν· τῆς δὲ Βαξάρῃς διὰ τὴν ἱμπερίαν κατὰ τὸν διαλείποντα τοπὸν ποιεσθῆναι, τὴν διόδον ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν.” Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--304.

Chir or the Lion's mouth,^c with scarcely an opening of fifty yards, which may be easily supposed to have been the natural bridge of the Oxus.—Polybius seems to have adopted the second idea, and it appears more probable. The Dgeihon beyond Dehani-Chir runs into a plain of sand of two leagues in length, where it loses itself. This plain might formerly have been very passable, but at present it is too hazardous to be attempted: at the end of it the Dgeihon again appears, and resumes its course towards Kharism. The circumstance of rivers burying themselves, in this part of the world, within the bosom of the earth is not extraordinary, and Strabo is not justified in disputing the relation of Aristobulus,^d who assures us, that the Polymetus, the Sogd of the Orientals, after having watered the valley of Marcanda lost itself in the sand, without discharging itself into the Caspian sea, as Ptolemy^e hath related, which was physically impossible. The course of the Polymetus would in that case have been intercepted by the Oxus, which stretched from the South to the North-West.—The passage of the Aspasiacians near Termed, according to the real position of these places, proves that the Scythians made their incursions into

^c Voyage d'Otter, Tom. 1.--236. The Turkish geographer, according to the Baron de St. Croix, enters into some interesting details relative to the course of the Oxus. 882, 883, 884 and 885. And Eldrisi, in a Maronite interpretation, describes the pass in the following manner. "———Ubi abscondit se sub magno quodam monte, super quem transcundi est quasi pontem."

Geog. Nub. Clim. 3. P. 8.--138.

^d Strabo. Lib. 11.

^e Ptolem, Lib. 6. C. 14.

into that part of Hyrcania, between the Ochus and the Oxus. Monsieur d' Anville reckons the Ochus to be the Northern limit of this province, and this able geographer, it is to be supposed, had good reasons for abandoning the sentiments of Strabo ^f as well as Ptolemy, ^g who throw back the frontiers of Hyrcania beyond the Ochus. This river, which answers to the modern Thus, that runs near Nefa, which took its name from Næfia a province of the ancient Hyrcania, ^h continues its course, like the Thus, into the Caspian sea.—Strabo relates the opinion of the writers, who imagined the Ochus and Oxus to form a junction, ⁱ and Q. Curtius hath been led into an error by it: Alexander, according to this historian, passed both these rivers to arrive at the city of Marginia, ^k where he pitched upon situations for six other towns. If the Macedonian Monarch, in his route from Bactria to Marginia, had met with the Ochus, it must have opened into the Oxus, or its course must have been lengthened from East to West, which suppositions are equally false. The river to which Q. Curtius hath given the name of Ochus was the Margus, which runs in a parallel line with the Arius, and is still called by the Persians, Marg-
Ab.

^f “Διαιρεται δε ἐν ποταμοῖς ἡ Ὑρκανία τῷ τε Οχῷ καὶ τῷ Οξῷ.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

^g Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 9.

^h Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

ⁱ ——— Lib. 11.--776.

^k “Superatis deinde omnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marginiam pervenit.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 10. Tom. 2.--556.

Ab.¹ Pliny^m informs us, that Antiochus the son of Seleucus rebuilt on the banks of the Margus one of the towns, which Alexander founded, and which had been destroyed by the Barbarians, but this king of Syria called it Antiochia, which proves the mistake of Q. Curtius. It may be perhaps conjectured, that Q. Curtius meant another river, which had also the name of Ochus, and agreeable to Ptolemy united itself to the Dargomanis,ⁿ and then joined the Oxus, but the Greek geographer is here less exact than even the Latin historian.

Bessus received some succours from the Dahes, who resided, according to Arrian,^o beyond the Tanais or Iaxartes, but he places them much too far Northward. The Xanthians, Pissurians, Aparnians or Parnians, served to distinguish three tribes of this nation,^p and the Aparnians were settled next Hyrcania and the borders of the Caspian sea. The Xanthians and Pissurians extended themselves along the shore and sides of the sea, in the Latitude of the ancient Aria. It is evident that Strabo, with whom Ptolemy^q agrees, is accurate

¹ Geog. Ancienne par Monsieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--297.

^m "Alexander Alexandriam condiderat. Quâ dirutâ a Barbaris, Antiochus Seleuci filius, eodem loco restituit Syriam. Nam interfluente Margo, qui corrivatur in Zotale, is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--674, 675.

ⁿ Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11.

^o "Δαας της επι ταδε τη Ταναϊδῳ ποταμῳ οικετας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 28. --249.

^p Strabo. Lib. 11.--779.

^q Ptolem. Lib. 6.

rate in his position of these people on this side of the Oxus, and that Arrian hath incorrectly transported them to the banks of the Jaxartes. Monsieur d'Anville hath placed them to the South of the Ochus, which seems to have been their true residence, pointed out by Strabo. This Greek geographer relates, that Arfaces governed the Dahes, called Parnians,^r who had not absolutely any fixed settlement, but occasionally varied their residence, without quitting the environs of the Ochus. These Scythians are believed to have been a colony of the Dahes, that once occupied a tract of country above the Palus Mæotis,^s and took the names of Aparnians, Xanthians, and Pissurians, in consequence of a migration like that of the Abians, who transplanting themselves into Asia were called the Saces, Amurgians and Aspasiacians. Herodotus considers the Mardes as a Persian people,^t and he classes also another nation of the Mardes in the nineteenth Satrapy, with the Mossynæcians and Tibarenes.^w It is probable, that the name of Mard was given as a general term to the inhabitants of the mountains, who owed their liberty to the inaccessible ramparts of their country, Mard signifying in the Persian tongue a brave man, and Marad in the Hebrew, a revolt. The Mardes, according to Herodotus, were a wandering people,

^r “*Ἀρσάκης ἀνὴρ Σκυθῆς τῶν Δάων τινὰς ἔχων τὰς Πάρους καλεμένους Νομίδας, παροικούντας τὸν Ὀχον.*”
Strabo. Lib. 11.--783.

^s “*Φασὶ δὲ τὰς Πάρους Δάας μεταναστὰς εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιωτιδῆος Λαῶν.*” Strabo. Lib. 11.
--784.

^t Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

^w ——— Lib. 3.--246.

people, and principally shepherds,^x an employment and mode of life in some measure connected with their situation, which must have been the Uxian mountains. We learn in fact from Q. Curtius, that this nation was near the Uxians,^y and Mard might perhaps have been the name, which the Persians gave to a part of the inhabitants of the Uxian mountains, who had never been subdued: those who cultivated the plains, and were subject to the Persian Satrap, were not distinguished by this particular appellation, and were simply called Uxians.^z——Q. Curtius^a and many other writers have doubled the Mardes, and have introduced two different wars of Alexander with these people. Arrian adopts these opinions in his narrative concerning India,^b though he only takes notice of a single nation of this name,^c in his history of the Macedonian Monarch, and relates an expedition against them after the death of Darius, in which Diodorus Siculus^d and Justin^e agree with him.

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The

^x “Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομαδες, Δαοι.” Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

^y “Quinte Curce nous dit effectivement que cette nation etoit voisine des Uxiens.” In the passage referred to by the Baron de St. Croix, the Mardes are only mentioned in the following manner. “Ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosissimam, et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitæ abhorrentem.” Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354.

^z Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 17.--219.

^a Q. Curtius. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354. The passage just cited, “Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniæ, cultu vitæ aspera, et latrociniis adsueta.” Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--417.

^b “Σησιοις δὲ προσοικοι ὅτι εἰσιν οἱ Οὐξιοι, λελεκται μοι καταπερ Μαρδοι μεν Περσησι προσεχεις οικησι.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 40.--630.

^c Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--238, 239.

^d Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

^e Justin. Lib. 12. C. 3.--308.

The Mardes, strictly speaking, were a Scythian people, who resided in the mountains of Deilam, to the South of the Caspian sea, and they were more properly called the great Mardes or Amardians from the Amardus, which watered their country. These Mardes or Amardians, were doubtless the people that Phraates, the first king of the Parthians, obliged to inhabit the city of Rages, which from that time became one of the greatest cities of Media.^f Pliny ought not therefore to have distinguished the Amardians from the Mardes, "a rough and unconquered nation."^g But the Latin Naturalist may have been deceived by the name of Mard, which the Persians gave in general to the inhabitants of mountains, and particularly to the inhabitants of those between Susia and Persia. He seems also to have multiplied them, and reckons five nations of them: one near Colchis,^h of which Herodotusⁱ also speaks; a second between Armenia and Media,^k which appears to be the Gordians or Corduans; a third in Susia,^l which is the Uxians in question, and the fourth is the Mardes,^m which Pliny distinguishes very improperly from the Amardians or great Mardes, which he makes the fifth.ⁿ

The

^f Isidori Characeni. Mans. Parth. 6. Geograph. Vct. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.

^g "Gens Mardorum, fera, sui juris." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675.

^h Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--658.

ⁱ Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

^k Pliny's expression is "Circa Mardos et Armenios." Hist. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4.--805.

^l Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27.--718.

^m ————— Lib. 6. C. 16.--675.

ⁿ ————— Lib. 6. C. 19.--678.

The historians of Alexander seized with a kind of transport on the resemblance between the Agriaspian or Ariaspian, according to Ptolemy,^o and the Arimaspians, a people of European Scythia, celebrated both from the fables, that Aristeas of Proconnesus^p circulated of them, and also from the succours given by them to the Argonauts, on which they had the name of Evergetes.^q These writers termed the Agriaspian, who inhabited the South of the Aria Palus, or the modern lake Zera, Arimaspians; and weakly imagined they had rendered the same services to Cyrus,^r that the Arimaspians afforded the Argonauts, though the Persian Monarch was perhaps never in their country. Diodorus Siculus, equally mistaken from the similitude of these services and the names of the two nations, does not likewise scruple to apply to the Ariaspian the term of Arimaspians.^s

Z z 2

The

^o Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 19.

^p Herodot. Lib. 4.--286, 287, 288.

^q Steph. Byzant.

^r “Αφικνέται ες τὴν παλαιὰν Ἀγριασπῆα καλεομένην, ὅθεν δὲ Ἐβεργέτας ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐνεπελάσαντο τῆς ἐς Σκυθίας ἐλάσεως.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 27.--246.

^s “Diodorus Siculus hath pretended to state the precise relief, which they afforded Cyrus in his distress. “Ἀνεζεύξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρον μὲν Ἀριμασπῆς, νῦν δ’ Ἐβεργέτας ὀνομαζομένης, διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Κύρῳ ὁ τὴν Μήδων ἀρχὴν μὴλιστα εἰς Περσῶν, ἐν τινὶ σφατεῖα περιληφθεὶς ἐν ἐρημῷ χωρῇ καὶ πᾶσι σπᾶναι τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν, ἤλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης κινδύνῃ, διὰ τὴν ἐνδείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀναγκαζομένων τῶν σφατιῶν ἀλλήλους σαρκοφάγειν. Τῶν δὲ Ἀριμασπῶν τρισμυρίας ἅμαξας σιτὴ γειμῆσας παρακομισάντων, σῶθεις παραδοξὺς ἀτελείαις τε καὶ ἀλλοῖς δόρεσιν ἐτίμησε το ἐνὶ, καὶ τὴν πρὸς παρχεσαν πρὸς ἡγορίαν ἀφελόμενον, πρὸς ἡγορευσεν Ἐβεργέτας.” Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.

The Etymander washed the country of the Ariaspian,^t and opened into the Aria Palus. Monsieur d'Anville suspects Ptolemy of concluding this river descended into the Southern ocean:^w the Greek geographer however takes no notice of the river Etymander, and mentions only a people of this name.^x

After having taken a view of the course of the rivers, and the situation of the different tribes of Scythians, comprised in the Northern part of Asia that Alexander's army overspread, it may be necessary to attend to the provinces, of which Asia was itself composed.

Though Sogdia makes a considerable figure in the history of Alexander's expeditions, Q. Curtius speaks of its inhabitants as hardly known,^y and places them according to his own erroneous ideas near the real Tanais and Caucasus. Stephanus Byzantinus appears to place Sogdia, in the situation that Bactria should have occupied, near Paropamisus,^z yet the error may possibly be owing to the copyist.—Golius^a hath made a similar excuse for Ptolemy, where

^t Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 6.--273.

^w Geograph. Anc. Tom. 2.--289.

^x Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 17.

^y "Sogdianos et Arachosios, nomine tantum notos." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

^z Steph. Byzant. Σογδιαν.

^a Golius. Not. in Alfer. 171.

where he transports Marcanda the capital of Sogdia into Bactria, but as this city is still falsely placed as to its Latitude,^b we cannot so readily acquiesce in the idea of any mistake in the text of the Greek geographer, and suppose the transcriber to have been alone responsible for it. Monsieur d'Anville^c hath acutely remarked, that this inaccuracy arose from a false reckoning in the itinerary measures, and "by the allowance of too much space to them, it inevitably followed, that Ptolemy gave in general a greater extent to the country than it really occupied, and Sogdia in particular was pushed much too far."

Bactria, if we are to believe Q. Curtius, formed a third part of Asia.^d The Latin historian must have confounded Bactria in the time of Alexander, with the kingdom of Bactria formed afterwards by his successors, 255 years before Christ. Menander, one of the most illustrious of these princes, crossed the Hypanis and reduced many nations under his dominion, which the Macedonian Monarch had not conquered. Demetrius, the son of Euthedemus, also possessed himself not only of Patalene, but of many of the provinces on the coast of India,^e and of the territories of Sigertes. Q. Curtius therefore

^b Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11. Lib. 8. Tab. 7.

^c "Auxquelles attribuant trop d'entendue, il devoit s'ensuivre que (Ptolemee) donna en general plus d'espace au pays qu'il n'en occupe, et que la Sogdiane en particulier fût poussée beaucoup trop loin." Eclaircissement. Geograph. sur la Carte de l'Inde. 23.

^d "Tertiam partem Asiæ tenet." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--367.

^e "Δημητριῷ ὁ Εὐθυδημὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Βακτριῶν βασιλείας, ἢ μόνον δὲ τὴν Παταλὴν κατέσχεον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς παραλίας τὴν τε Τισσαριστὴν καλεμένην, καὶ τὴν Σιγερτιδῶν βασιλείαν. Καθόλου δὲ φησὶν ἐκείνῳ τῆς συμπάσης Ἀσίας πρῶτον σχῆμα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανήν· καὶ δὴ καὶ μεχρὶ Σερῶν, καὶ Φαυγῶν ἐξτείναν τὴν ἀρχήν." Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

therefore alludes to the boundaries of Bactria extended by its kings, who had united to it Aria, and part of India.

Perhaps however, the Latin historian may be in some measure excused, by supposing with Monsieur Freret^f that the Persian word *Bakter*, from which in all probability Bactriana was derived, equally applied to all the country to the East of Persia. The learned academician is supported by Herbelot in the following terms. "From this word comes the name of the province, which we call Khorasan, and to which the Ancients gave the name of Bactriana from its being situated to the East of Persia."^g Khorasan implies also like *Bakter* the East, or literally the place where the sun rises, agreeable to Abulfeda^h and the Turkish geographer, who is much indebted to the Arabian prince for information. These writers allow a great space to the Khorasan, which comprehends not only the ancient Bactriana, but also Sogdiana, Margiana, Parthia and Aria.ⁱ In the summary description, that

^f *Observations sur la Cyroped. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 4.--607.*

^g "De ce mot vient le nom de la province que les Anciens ont appelee Bactriane a cause qu'elle est situee a l'Orient de la Perse, nous l'appellons aujourd'hui le Khorassan." *Bib. Orient. 164.*

^h "Porro Khorassam solis locus interpretatur, nam Kor solem, et Asam locum denotat." *Abulfeda. ex Vers. cit. Geograph. Turc. 670.*

ⁱ "Khorassam plurimas plagas complectitur. Afferunt Caldæi Khorassam protensam esse a Rai usque ad ortum solis. Alii autem existimant eam a monte Halwan ad locum nomine ortum solis patere.———Limites vero ejus hi sunt, nempe ad Occidentem Khorassam deserto, quod eam inter et mediam et Girgian interjectum est, ad Austrum pariter deserto, quod eam a Perside et Ku-
mas

that Alfragan sketched of the different climates of the world, this astronomer includes in the Khorasan even Balk and Samarcand, which agree in situation with Bactria and Marcanda, the ancient capitals of Bactriana and Sogdiana in the province of Khorasan.^k Yet the city of Balk must not be confounded with the country of that name, which is a single and separate canton, governed by a particular Khan of its own, who hath always preserved his independence, even in the midst of powerful neighbours, and hath chosen the city of Balk for his residence.^l

The Oriental geographers supply us with useful explanations of some parts of ancient geography, and are principally of service respecting the real situation of places, and their modern as well as ancient names. Yet the testimony of the more ancient writers as to the limits of the different countries, can only be weakened by the contrary evidence of some cotemporary author. Admitting even that the Oriental writers have not properly distinguished the canton of Balk from the rest of the Khorasan, even the whole of this extensive province might not be able to give us the true limits of the ancient Bactriana, which, according to Ptolemy,^m on the West
had

mas sejungit, ad Orientem autem Segestam et India, ad septentrionem denique terminatur plagis Mawarannah, seu quæ sunt ultra flumen Oxum, et aliquâ etiam parte Turchistam-Khorassam. Itaque continet multas provincias, quarum una quæ integram regionem adæquat." Abulfeda, ex *Versione cit.*

^k Alferg. Elem. Astron. C. 9. Clim. 4, 5. Golii Not. 166.

^l Voyage d'Otter. Tom. 1.--240.

^m Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 10. Lib. 6. C. 11.

had Margiana; and should have included the Oxus, and Sogdiana on the North; a part of it as well as the Saces on the West; and the Paropamisus and a part of Asia to the South. We learn from Q. Curtiusⁿ that the Tanais, which was the Iaxartes, separates the Bactrians from the Scythians, and by this means he confounds Bactriana with Sogdiana. Even the descriptions of the manners and modes of life of the inhabitants, which Alexander's historians have left us, prove these people to have been very different.

Bactra, called sometimes Zariaspe, is placed by Q. Curtius under the mountains of Paropamisus,^o though it was in fact at some distance from them. The resemblance of the ancient situation of this town with the actual position of Balk, Balch, or Balck agreeable to some manuscripts, demonstrates almost to a certainty this error of the Latin historian. According to Achmet^p in his twenty-second climate, cited by Abulfeda, Balk is situated in the middle of the Khorasan, and if any credit is due to Ibn-Haukal, it is built upon a flat surface in a plain, about four leagues from a
mountain,

ⁿ "Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europæos vocant dividit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531.

^o "Ipsa Bactra, regionis ejus caput, sita sunt sub monte Paropamisso." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 4. Tom. 2.--510.

^p "Ex Acmeto sapiente——Balk in medio Khorassam sitam esse traditur——Ex Ibn-Haukal Balk——ca in solo æquabile sita est, itaque a monte illi proximo quatuor paras distant." (Abulfeda ex Versione cit. Geograph. Turc. 698.) This city is supposed to be eight leagues, the Baron de St. Croix observes, from the Dgeihoun or Oxus, according to Sherefeddin. Hist. de Timur. Lib. 1. C. 2.

mountain, which may have occasioned the mistake of Q. Curtius, and might be taken for a part of the Paropamisus. The situation of Balk on the river Dahas, which bathes its walls, ascertains the identity of this city with the Zariaspe or Baetra of the Ancients, and the learned Golius^a produces many other corroborating proofs of it, in his observations upon Alfragan.

When the Macedonian army returned out of India by Gedrosia, Alexander directed Craterus to conduct a body of troops into the interior part of Ariana,^c and to reduce it. But is this country understood to be the same with the Aria to the South of Hyrcania and Margiana, and to the North of the Dranges and a part of Media? Strabo clears away the difficulty, and dissipates the obscurity, which has been spread over this subject in Alexander's marches. Whilst this judicious geographer allows only to Aria itself a length of two thousand stadia, and reckons its breadth at three hundred,^d he extends the limits of Ariana, from the frontiers of Bactriana and Sogdiana, as far as Media and Persia, and he includes in them Arachosia, Carmania, and the whole country to the Indus.^e Dionysius the geographer hath allotted to Ariana an extent almost as considerable, and he comprises all the people near Paropamisus,

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^a Golius. Notes on Alfragan. 175, 176, 177.

^c Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

^d "Μηκρὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀρίας ὅσον δισχιλίοι σταδίοι, πλατὺν δὲ τριακοσίοι τε πεδίοι." Strabo, Lib. 11.--785.

^e Strabo, Lib. 2.--131.

as well as the Arbians, Orites, and the inhabitants on the shores of the Erythrean sea, under the general name of Arianians,^w a term which was at first used to distinguish them from the Arians, with whom they were afterwards confounded.

It seems probable that the term Aria was derived from the Calmuck or Mungal word Are, which signifies a man, and still subsists in Herah, Herat and Heri, the Aria of the Ancients;^x or it may be deduced from Eri or Ære, which has the same signification with the Tartars. The Arians were distinguished for their knowledge and their police, as may be inferred from Strabo,^y who compares them with the Indians, the Romans and the Carthaginians, and would willingly withdraw them from the disgraceful denomination of Barbarians. The Arians, had their name from Are or Ære,
“men,”

^w “*Ἡ τοι μὲν δύνοντο ἐπὶ κλισίῳ ἢ ἐλίοιο,
 Πριτας τ', Ἀριβας τε, λινοχλαίνες τ' Ἀραχωτας,
 Σατραίδας δ', ὅσους τε παρὰ πύλῃ Περσέωνιστοιο
 ἔννῃ ὁμῶς μάλα πάντας ἐπωνυμίην Ἀρίωνες.*”

Dionys. Perieg. V. 1095—1098.

Moses of Chorene, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath confounded the limits of Ariana, with those of the ancient kingdom of Bactriana, and supposed Aria to comprehend the whole country between the Caspian sea and the Indies, including twenty-six provinces, amongst which were Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, &c. &c. “Aria sine Chastia-Chorasania Mediæ ac Persiæ finitima est, atque ad Indiam pertinet, Hyrcanumque mare attingit. Hæ autem provinciæ numerantur, Comsia, Hyrcania, &c. &c. &c.” Mos. Chor. Geograph. ad Calcem. Hist. Armen. 365. Ed. Whiston.

^x Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. 448.

^y “*Καὶ τῶν βαρβαρῶν αἰεὶς, καὶ ἀπὲρ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι δὲ θάνατος πολέμοιοι.*” Strabo, Lib. 1.--116.

“men,” to mark their decided superiority over the neighbouring nations, like the people of Paropamisus and the Mardes,² whose rude and savage life was but little removed from that of the common tribe of animals.

The ancient Medes had the name of Arians, according to Herodotus,^a but it seems that they were not the Arians, of whom the Greek historian speaks in his division of the Satrapies.^b The latter nation, which had a great affinity in language and manners with the Assyrians, was formerly very powerful. Most probably all the countries that formed their empire, were known under the general term of Ariana,^c perhaps also Aria, and many other countries being conquered by the Persians, might be united in the same Satrapy under the name of Ariana, and from this circumstance Hellanicus may have supposed it to have been a province of Persia.^d Stephanus Byzantinus, after having related the passage of this ancient historian, appears to be desirous of distinguishing Aria from Ariana, which was only an extension of it, and of mak-

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² “Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac conjuges et liberos condunt: petorum, aut ferarum carne vescuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro naturæ habitu molliora ingenia sunt.” Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--354.

^a “Εκαλεοντο δε παλαι προς παντων Αρειοι.” Herodot. Lib. 7.--539.

^b “Αρειοι.” Herodotus. Lib. 3.--245.

^c See Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--515, 516.—Geograph. Ancienne de Monsieur d’Anville. Tom. 2.--285. &c. &c.—Vossius ad P. Melam. Lib. 1. C. 2.

^d Apud Steph. Byzant. Αρια.

ing these countries inhabited by different people. Copying Apollodorus, he styles "Ariana a nation bordering on the Caduseans,"^c and Pomponius Mela adopts this erroneous supposition.^f Pliny^g is equally incorrect in placing Aria to the West of Parthia, and the Arianians and Carmania to the South. Julius Solinus^h hath united the Arians and Arianians, and places them to the East of the Parthians, which may serve to correct the text of Pliny,ⁱ whose errors have been to all appearance increased by the ignorance of his transcribers.

OF THE PAROPAMISUS.

Considering the Paropamisus as one part of the great chain of mountains, which, rising on the sides of Lycia, Pamphylia, and
Cilicia,

^c "Αριανια, ἐντὺ προσεχὲς τοῖς Καδουαίοις Ἀπολλοδώρου δευτέρῳ." Steph. Byzant. *Αριανια*.

^f "Usque ad Caspium finis possident. Indis proxima est Ariane deinde Aria," P. Melam. Lib. 1. C. 2.--19, 20.

^g "Habet ab ortu Arios, a meridie Carmaniam et Arianos," Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 25. Tom. 1.--709.

^h "Ab ortu Arios Arianosque, Carmaniam a medio die." Julius Solinus. C. 59.

ⁱ By which, the Baron de St. Croix would read "Habet ab ortu Arios et Arianos, a meridie Carmaniam."

Cilicia,^k stretch across Asia from West to East, and after receiving the different names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus and Edmodus, terminate at the sea that washes China, we may discover a near resemblance with the Caucasus of Scythia, which is itself only a part of another chain of mountains, running from the Pontus Euxinus to the sea of Tartary. These two great tracts of mountainous country are connected by intermediate chains, in a direction from South to North, and are in fact only links of those, which connect the North and South of Asia.

Diodorus Siculus^l distinguishes exactly these two chains of mountains, but like the other ancient authors, he has not turned his thoughts towards the communication that unites them, and is to appearance the frame that supports all Asia. Arrian^m and Q. Curtiusⁿ have simply advanced, that the Caucasus and Taurus made a part of the ridge of mountains, which cross that immense Continent. The term of Taurus is derived from a Chaldæan word, signifying

^k Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

^l “Απο τοινυν τη κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ταυρη συνεχες ορεῖ δι ὅλης της Ασίας διηκει, μεχρι τη Καυκασω κ̃ τη προς ανατολας ωκεανω· τητο δε παντὶδαποισ ανασημασι λοφων διειλημμενον, ιδίας καθ'εκαστον εχει προσηγορίας· τητον δε τον τροπον εις δυο μερη διαιριμενης της Ασίας, το μεν προς τας Αρκτες αυτης νενευκε, το δε προς την μεσημβριαν·” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--260.

^m Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

ⁿ “Caucasum montem, cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo iugo dividit.———Taurus secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso, &c.” Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.

signifying a mountain,^o and Eratosthenes as well as Arrian have applied it also to the second chain of mountains,^p though they regularly change their appellation in the different countries.—Caucasus is an alteration of Groucasum, which in the ancient Scythian language expressed a place covered with snow,^q and the Barbarians called the mountains to the North of India, Imaus, which has the same import.—The name of Mustag or mountain of ice, by which the Tartars^r distinguished the Paropamisus, furnishes a signification nearly similar. The Persians indeed still call a part of the same mountains Koh-Kafer,^s “impious” “treacherous mountain,” more literally Koh-Kaf, “frothy mountain,” in allusion to the snow, which generally covers it; or according to Bayer, Khoo-Kafer, “the loss of men,” from its rigorous climate; but it is sometimes only called Kaf, which is employed by the Arabs to describe many mountains, but in particular those of Paropamisus.

^o Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 207. Which contains much valuable information.

^p Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 3.--552.

^q “Et Caucasum montem, Groucasum, hoc est nive candidum.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

^r “Terme qui Plin rend par celui de nivolum.” I have varied the expression, for Pliny has not applied the epithet “nivolum” to the Imaus, though he frequently mentions these mountains.

^s And also Imussahr, for Mus or Maus signifies with them Ice, to which they prefix, in the pronunciation, the vowel I, but Tag denotes mountains: thus the whole word signifies Icy or Snowy Mountains, whence the corrupt word Imaus takes its origin. Strahlenberg’s Geograph. Descript. of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia, 416.

^t Bayer de Regn. Baet. 8.

ropamisus.^w—It may be reasonably supposed, that the companions of Alexander's arms were struck with the analogy of sounds, and catching with pleasure at the resemblance of the etymology of the name, which distinguished the real Caucasus and that of the Paropamisus, made no scruple of calling both these mountains equally Caucasus. Their own vanity and the flattery of their Sovereign might also have some influence with them, in the application.—Some such apology might have excused the Macedonians, if they had satisfied themselves with only the adoption of the name, but they have confounded these two mountains, and have attributed to one, the characteristic circumstance, which alone ought to have distinguished the other. Like another Philoctetes, they have imagined they discovered in the Paropamisus the cave in which Prometheus was fastened, and from which he was at last delivered by Hercules. Arrian, with his usual good sense, states these reveries as fabulous,^x though Diodorus Siculus adopts them with credulous simplicity, and relates that in the middle of Caucasus, called Paropamisus by some, the natives still shew a rock of ten stadia in circumference and of four in height, where the eagle's nest and
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^w Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. "Thus likewise the denomination of Caucasus, called by others Caf, Caph or Caco: Caho and Cobo signifies, in the Persian, no more than mountains in general." Strahlenberg's Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia. 416. See also Reland. Differt. 8. De Vet. Ling. Pers. 155.

^x "Και γὰρ καὶ σπηλαιον λεγὲι ἰδοντας ἐν Παραπαμισαδαῖς τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ τινὰ μυθὸν ἐπιχωρίον ἀκυσαντας, ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ξυνθέντας, φημισαὶ ὅτι τῆτο ἀρα ἦν τὸ Προμηθεὺς το ἀντρον, ἵνα ἐδέδετο· καὶ ὁ αἰετὸς ὅτι ἐκείσε ἐφοῖτα, δαίσομεν τῶν σπλαγγῶν τὸ Προμηθεὺς." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 3.-- 343, 344.

the marks of the fetters of the daring adventurer were yet an object of curiosity.^y These fables, which can only refer to the real Caucasus, have been copied by Q. Curtius,^z who draws from them very strange consequences. The Latin historian after having spoken of the fatigues, that the Macedonian Monarch's army experienced in its passage across the Paropamisus, which, according to his ideas, was to the West joining Bactria, with the Indian ocean to the South,^a adds, that after the Prince's troops had recovered their march,^b "he moved towards mount Caucasus, which with its long ridge of hills stretches itself through Asia, having on one side of it the Cilician sea, and on the other the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and deserts of Scythia. Mount Taurus, which holds the second rank for bigness, joins to mount Caucasus: it takes its rise from Cappadocia, and running across Cilicia joins itself to the mountains of Armenia, so that all these mountains being united, form one continued

^y "Κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν Καυκάσον ἐστὶ πέτρα δέκα σταδίων ἐχούσα τὴν περιμετρον, τετάρων δὲ σταδίων τὸ ὑπὸ σῶ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ Προμηθεὺς σπηλαίον ἐδείκνυθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, καὶ ἡ τε μυθολογηθεὶς αὐτῇ κοιτῇ, καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν σημεῖα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

^z Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3.--493—501.

^a "Bactrianis ad Occidentem conjuncti sunt: Meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--493, 494.

^b "Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugit dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit; illinc Caspium fretum, et amnem Araxem, aliaque regionis Scythiæ deserta spectat. Taurus secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso, a Cappadociâ se adtollens Ciliciam præterit, Armeniæque montibus jungitur. Sic inter se tot juga velut serie cohærentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et Ponticum decidunt. XVII. dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.

tinued ridge, out of which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some emptying themselves into the Red sea, others discharging themselves into the Caspian sea, while others again fall into the Hyrcanian and Pontick sea. The army passed over mount Caucasus in seventeen days.”^c It would be difficult to find either an ancient or modern historian, who has to answer for so many errors in such a short compass.—Q. Curtius undoubtedly intended to speak of the real Caucasus, since he joins it to the Taurus, and places the Caspian sea on the left: this however is the least of his mistakes. After a description of Alexander’s march in the country of Paropamisus, he supposes this Prince to reach Caucasus, which must in consequence be situated between Paropamisus and the Indian ocean. But is this situation to be reconciled with the account, which he gives afterwards of this mountain? The Caucasus, he tells us, hath on one side the Caspian sea, the Araxes and Scythia, and on the other, the sea which bathes the coast of Cilicia, placed under the same parallel with the Caspian sea, and by these means the whole of Asia Minor with the Pontus Euxinus is thrown too far Northward. Q. Curtius hath given also a Latitude too far Southward to the Caspian sea, and brings it within seven degrees of the Equator. If we admit the ideas, which the Ancients entertained of the Longitude of the Caspian sea, to have been just and accurate, it then becomes parallel to that of Cilicia and Asia Minor.—These influences are fairly deducible from the text of Q. Curtius, who is accustomed very frequently to contradict himself, and may even

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^c Digby’s Q. Curtius. Book. 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.--18.

be believed to have imagined the Caucasus to run from North to South.—Arachofia, likewise, is placed to the West of Caucasus, and near the Pontus Euxinus, and consequently we must not be surpris'd to meet with its inhabitants near the Euxine sea.^a—To complete the confusion and obscurity, the Latin historian appears to distinguish the Hyrcanian sea from the Caspian sea.

Q. Curtius mentions the climate of Paropamisus in the following terms.^c “The snows are here so deep, and so congealed with the frost, that no footsteps or traces of beast or bird appear in all the country. The light is so obscure, that it may be compared to the dimness of the night, so that those things that are nearest at hand are hardly discernable.”^f—This is most certainly an overcharged description, which may be considered as a commentary on Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, when he speaks of this country, that it was situated under the Pole.^g Q. Curtius therefore transports into it

^a “Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet.” Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--492.

^c “Adeo altæ nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo pene rigore constrictæ, ut ne avium quidem, feræve ullius vestigium existet. Obscura cæli verius umbra, quam lux, nocti similis premit terram: vix ut quæ prope sunt conspici possint.” Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--498.

^f Digby's Q. Curtius. Book 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.--17.

^g “Ἡ δὲ τῆτων χώρα κείται μὲν ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀρκτὺς, χιονόβλῃται δὲ πᾶσα, ——— ἀπᾶσα δ' ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις ὅτε χλωρὰν ἐθ' ἡμέρον εἶχει προσοψίν, ἀλλὰ λευκὴν καὶ ἀνταυγὴ τὴν χιονὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ πηγνυμένον κρύσταλλον· διοπίρ, ὅτ' ὁρνεῖ προσκαθίζοντι, ὅτε θηρίε διοδενοντι, ἀξένα καὶ ἀνεπιβᾶτα πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς χώρας ὑπὲρχιν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 7. Tom. 2.--223.) Churchill's Muse, in an irritated

it the inhabitants of Paropamisus, or rather appears to be wholly ignorant, that the nearer we approach to the Equator, the nearer we find day and night to be equal to each other. But it is an excess of absurdity to imagine that a country, only ten degrees from the Tropic of Cancer, should in the winter be plunged into one continued night.

Monsieur Bonami takes notice of the expressions of Diodorus Siculus, and Q. Curtius, and then observes, "that notwithstanding this frightful country is situated towards the thirty-fifth degree of Northern Latitude, in a climate where the heat is more sensible than cold, they have not only transported thither mount Caucasus and the Tanais, but also frosts and ice."^h To this objection,

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irritated moment, seems to have painted, in similar and exaggerated colours, a part of GREAT BRITAIN, which, from Party principles, had been the invidious object of his resentment.

"Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,
Earth, clad in ruffet, scorn'd the lively green.
The plague of locusts they secure defy,
For in three hours a grasshopper must die.
No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,
But the Chamelion, who can feast on air,
No birds, except as Birds of Passage, flew,
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo,
No streams as amber smooth, as amber clear
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here."

Prophecy of Famine. Churchill's Poems, Vol. 1.--10. 8^{vo} 1766.

^h "Cependant ce pays si affreux est situé vers le 35 degré de Latitude septentrionale, c'est à dire, dans un climat où la chaleur se fait plus sentir que le froid. ———— en y transportant le mont Caucase et le Tanais, ils y ont transporté les glaces et les frimats." Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions. Tom. 25.--22.

however, it may be answered that the hoar of a winter's frost is sometimes to be met with upon mountains in the Southern regions, the Pike of Teneriffe, which is seven degrees South of Paropamisus being covered with snow, and inaccessible even in the months of July and August.¹ The intense cold, arising from continual falls of snow, is likewise so very severe on the Cordilleras and Andes, in the Audience of Quito, near the Equator, that these mountains are not only uninhabitable, but neither plants nor animals are to be found upon them.^k The climate of Paropamisus produces also examples of the common phenomenon arising from the rarefaction of the air. Father Desideri, who traversed in 1715 the mountains of Cachemir, which are a part of the ancient Paropamisus, and lie nearly in the same Latitude with the route of Alexander's army, expresses himself as follows. "The summit of the highest mountains is always covered with snow and ice.—I say nothing of the extreme cold, which I had to suffer.—These mountains are a true image of desolation, horror and even death."^l Bernier's description,

¹ *Histoire general de Voyages*. Tom. 6.--189—220. Ed. 12. The Baron de St. Croix was perfectly correct in his expression, for the difficulties were supposed to include an impossibility of succeeding in the attempt. Lieutenant Rye, with wonderful perseverance, and not without some danger, hath since scaled this tremendous mountain in the month of April. See his Account of the Pike of Teneriffe. 4^{to} 1793.

^k *Voyage de l'Amerique par D. G. Juan et D. Ulloa*. Tom. 1.--351.

^l "Le sommet des plus hautes montagnes est toujours couvert de neige et de glace.—Je ne parle point du froid extrême qui j'ai eu à souffrir — Ces montagnes sont une vraie image de la tristesse, de l'horreur, de la mort même." (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. Rec. 15.--185—193.) Much curious information may be extracted from this voluminous collection, but some attention will be requisite to separate the dross, and the "Esprit du corps" cannot be too much guarded against.

scription,^m who had passed through the same country fifty years before, is substantially the same, and this celebrated traveller adds, that on the mountain of Pir-Penjal, the changes in the atmosphere were very violent and sudden, and that in less than an hour there was a transition from summer to winter.

Without wasting any time on the etymologies of the name of these mountains, which seem to confirm the relation of Alexander's historians, some of the circumstances of Tamerlane's march towards mount Ketuer, between Badaschan and Cachemir, may be entered into with propriety. "Notwithstanding the season (the sun was then in Gemini) there was such a quantity of snow upon this mountain, that most of the horses, that attempted to ascend, could not keep their feet and fell. Some, however, after the frost in the night, which was severe, made some little progress, and when the sun arose, they were stopped, and covered with clothes, as it became impossible to proceed from the glassy ice. With great difficulty and great fatigue, the summit of the mountain was at last gained, and the place reached where the Siapousch resided."ⁿ The country inhabited by this band of robbers

^m Voyages de Bernier. Tom. 2. 270. "Nous entrâmes dans les montagnes, pour voir un grand lac ou il a de la glace, dont les vents font et défont des monceaux comme une petite mer glaciale." Voyage de Kachem. Tom. 2.--302.

ⁿ "Malgré la saison, (le soleil étoit alors dans les Gemaux) on trouva sur cette montagne une si grande quantité de neige, que les pieds de la plupart des chevaux qu'on voulut y faire monter, tomberent; quelque-uns cependant, à la faveur de la gelée, qui étoit très fort pendant la nuit, ne laisserent pas d'avancer, et lorsque le soleil paroissoit, on s'arrêtoit et on couvroit de feutre les chevaux, parceque il étoit impossible de marcher, tout étant rempli de verglas. On parvint ainsi, a-

pres

bers was little more than three degrees to the North of Cachemir, and its mountains formed part of the chain, which stretched across the centre of Asia. From this body of evidence we may conclude, that the historians of Alexander's actions have not imposed upon us, when they spoke of the cold, which the Prince's troops suffered in the Paropamisus, though these mountains are in such a Southerly part of the world. Strabo,^o who was not prejudiced in favour of these historians, expressly mentions the rigorous severity of the climate, and Q. Curtius is only reprehensible, when he states the length of the nights in this country, where the shortest day in the whole year consists of ten hours and a half.

The mountains, which cover the North of India have many passages, and that of Candahar is one, which is most travelled, especially by the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. The Macedonian army took the direct route from Bactra to Paropamisus, and there cannot be a doubt that Alexander entered India by this passage. Strabo is the writer of antiquity, that hath best illustrated the distressing march of the Macedonian army over these mountains. It was the second time that Alexander had conducted his troops into the country : the first was when he pursued the assassins of Darius.—“ He came,” says the judicious geographer, “ by Ariana

pres beaucoup de fatigues, jusqu' au sommet de la montagne, où étoient les Siapousch.” Hist. des Huns, par Monsieur de Guignes. Tom. 5.--42.) Sherefeddin hath given, the Baron de St. Croix remarks, a similar detail of this march. Hist. de Timur, Vol. 6, C. 3.

^o Strabo, Lib. 15.

na into the borders of India, and leaving it on the right, and Paropamisus to the North, he passed into Bactriana. Having reduced under his subjection all the territories under the Persian dominion, and many other countries, he directed his march towards India, of which many things had been said, though without any certainty. In his return he took the shortest route over the same mountains, leaving India to the left. He then came back again and passed its Western borders, crossing the rivers Cophes and Choaspes.”^p

OF INDIA.

The immense regions of India have been divided by the ancient geographers into Occidental India, which they call Send, and Oriental India, termed Hend,^q inhabited by a people, whose religion, manners and police, give them the strongest pretensions to antiquity. This rich and fertile country bears the name of Sindou^r and of Zomboudipo

^p “Ἦκε μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ πλῆσιον δι’ Ἀριανῶν ἀφ’ αὐτῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ, ὑπερβῆναι τὸν Παροπαμιστὸν εἰς τὰ προσαρκτικὰ μέρη, καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν καταστρεψάμεν· δε ταχὲς πάντα ὅσα ἦν ὑπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ εἰς πλεῖον, τοτ’ ἤδη καὶ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ὠρεχθῆναι· λεγόντων μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς πολλῶν, εὐ σαφὲς δὲ· Ἀνεστρεψε δ’ ἐν, ὑπερβᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρη, κατ’ ἄλλας ὁδὸς ἐπιτομωτέρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν, εἰτ’ ἐπεστρεψεν εὐθὺς ἐπ’ αὐτήν, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐσπερίας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸν Κωφὴν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Χοασπην.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

^q Abulf. Climat. Al-Hend-Al-Send, Rec. de Voyages par Thevenot. Tom. 1.

^r Bagavadam, Lib. 4.--91.

Zomboudipo^c in their early records, which are written in the Sanscreet language, but it must be acknowledged that it was little known by the rest of the universe before the days of Alexander. The relations of Ctesias and the crude and imperfect notions of Herodotus can afford only a small portion of satisfaction to any rational mind, and little confidence can be reposed on any information that may be gathered from them. The latter historian assures us, that Darius the son of Hytaspes penetrated the farthest into the East of all the Persian kings, but he cannot avoid acknowledging, that the Indians at a distance and to the South were never subject to the Persian power.^c Strabo pretends, that Cyrus in his expedition against the Massagetes ought to be considered as the only one that approached this country, from which the Persians were satisfied with drawing some auxiliaries, in general furnished by the Hydrachians. We learn also from the Greek geographer, that even the Persians had not any knowledge of India, which had been enveloped in the darkest obscurity till Alexander's conquests.^w Megasthenes, who was well versed in Indian antiquities, from his long residence with Porus and Sandracotta, is of opinion,^x that

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^c Ezour-vedam. Lib. 1. C. 3.

^e “Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκάστῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκεῖσι, καὶ πρὸς νοτὴ ἀνεμῷ καὶ Δαρείῳ βασιλῆϊ ὑδάμα ὑπηκῆσαν.” (Herod. Lib. 3.--248.) The Baron de St Croix supposes Herodotus to have been only acquainted with the Indians near Bactria, and the people of Carmania and Gedrosia, with a few other nations.

^w “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ὁ μάλιστ' ἀνακαλύψας.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

^x “Συναποφαινεται δὲ πῶς καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, κτελλὼν ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις περὶ Ἰνδῶν ἱστορίαις.”

no foreign army, those of Bacchus and Hercules excepted, had ever reached this country before this period, and the Indians confirmed by their own evidence, according to Maximus Tyrius,^y the Greek traveller's relation.—Alexander removed the veil, with which this part of the world had been till his time covered: Seleucus, one of his successors, pushed still farther his discoveries and arrived at the Ganges.^z It was reserved for later ages to acquire more extended notions of this part of the globe, but they are still more limited and imperfect than they might be wished to be. Our most authentic accounts are those, which relate to the countries, that have been ravaged by fire and sword, and deluged from avarice with seas of blood. Yet the religion of the mild and inoffensive natives condemns to excessive tortures in another world the savage mortal that hath audaciously attempted the life of any of his brethren,^a and it hath been their misfortune to inhabit a coun-

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try,

αἰς· ὅτε γὰρ παρ' Ἰνδῶν ἔξω φαλῆναι ποτε στρατιάν, ὅτ' ἐπελθεῖν ἐξώθεν καὶ κρατῆσαι, πλὴν τὴν μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, καὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τῆς νῦν μετὰ Μακεδόνων.” (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) “Οὐτῶν ὁ Μεγασθένης λέγει, ὅτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεῦσαι ὕδαμοῖσιν ἀνδρωποῖσιν, ὅτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλους ἀνδρωπεύς.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 5.--558.

y “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ, Περσῶν ἔλῳν, καὶ Βαβυλῶν γῆν, ἀβατον ἔσαν τεως στρατῶα ξένη, ὡς Ἰνδοὶ ἐλεγόν, πλὴν γὰρ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.” (Max. Tyrius. Dissert. 38.--399. 8^{vo} Cantab. 1703.) The Baron de St. Croix refers his readers, for this passage, to the 18th Dissertation and 85th Page of this Edition.

z Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--684.

a “Ceux qui les armes à la main auront tué un autre homme, seront eux-mêmes broyés dans l'enfer (le Patalene c'est à dire l'Abyme) et on les fera passer par des trous aussi petits que celui d'une aiguille.” (Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 3.) “Ceux, qui font mal aux hommes et qui tuent les bêtes, seront jetés dans un lieu particulier, pour y souffrir des tourments horribles.” Bagavadam. Lib. 6.--106.

try, in which nature hath been prodigal of her choicest gifts, only to expose it without ceasing as a prey to other nations !

Strabo, though he acknowledges the advantages that the science of geography has derived from the Macedonian conquests, very justly censures the multitude of absurd stories in which the marvellous had usurped the place of truth. "India," says he, "is at a very remote distance, and few of us have seen it. They who have visited it, have seen only a small part of it, and have described it principally from what they heard. The little they personally learnt was picked up in the hurry of their military expeditions, and yet they have published these accounts with the same confidence, as if they had examined the most authentic memorials with attention."^b The Greek geographer accuses also these writers with contradicting each other,^c with exaggerating, and relating notorious falsities,^d and he allows only Patroclus and Eratosthenes to have compiled their works from documents, whose fidelity was not to be suspected. A voluminous mass of fables might easily be collected from Onesicritus, Clitarchus, Megasthenes and Daimachus, and the two latter authors, in Strabo's opinion, deserve no sort of credit.

^b "Και γὰρ ἀπῳτατῶ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατῳπτευσαν αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες, μερὴ τινὰ εἰδόν· τὰ δὲ πλείω λεγούσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς· καὶ ἃ εἶδον δὲ, ἐν παροῶν γεγραπτοῖσι καὶ δρομῶ κατεμάθον· διὸπερ ἔδεδωκεν αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσι καὶ ταῦτα συγγραψάντες, ὥς ἂν πεφροντισμένως ἐξητασμένα." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1006.

^c "Ἄλλ' ἑκάστῳ ἑκάστῳ τὰναντία λέγει πολλάκις." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1006.

^d "Οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες, ὥς ἐπὶ το πολὺ ψευδολογοὶ γιγνόμενοι," Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.

dit.^c “They have even told of men with immense ears,^f without mouths and noses, with only one eye, long distorted thighs, and the fingers and toes in a reversed position. They have renewed Homer’s fable of the pigmies three feet high, and their wars with the cranes, and accounts are also given of ants that dig up gold, satyrs with unnatural heads,^g and serpents which swallow both deer and oxen with their horns.”^h The judicious geographer observes, that he

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had

^c “Διαφεροντως δ’ απισειν αξιον Δηιμαχω τε κ’ Μεγασθενει· ετοι γαρ εισιν οι της ενωτοκοιτας κ’ αφομης, κ’ αρευνας ισορουντες, μονοφθαλμους τε, κ’ μακροσκελεις, κ’ οπισθοδακτυλους· ενεκαινισαν δε κ’ την ‘Ομερικην των Πυγμαίων γερανομαχίαν, τρισπιδαμους ειποντες· ‘Ουτοι δε κ’ της χρυσωρυχης μυρμηκας, κ’ Πανας σφηνοκεφαλους, οφεις τε κ’ βους κ’ ελαφους συνεκρυσσεν καταπιοντες.” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.) The Baron de St. Croix observes that Caufabon durst not change the “ενεκαινισαν” into “ανακαινισαν,” though he wished to make the alteration, but that Monsieur de Brequigny meant to have restored the reading, on the authority of a manuscript in the French king’s library. There is not perhaps any Greek author, that hath stood in greater need of emendation than Strabo. A new edition of this Greek geographer has been long in the Clarendon Press, from the hands of a gentleman, (the late Thomas Falconer Esq. of Chester) who was, in every respect, fully qualified for the learned and laborious office. His extensive reading and erudition were only equalled by the virtues of the heart, and without any compliment whatever to his memory, his death was one of those misfortunes, of which it may literally be said “Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum Patriæ, grave bonis omnibus.” Cicero de Orat. Lib. 3. Sect. 2. Tom. 1.--281. 4^{to} 1740.

^f “Της ενωτοκοιτας, sleeping in their ears.”

^g “Σφηνοκεφαλους, with heads like wedges.” I am desirous of proposing to some future editor of Strabo a trifling alteration in the Text, and of substituting “Κυνοκεφαλους” in the place of “Σφηνοκεφαλους.” In many of the old manuscripts, the first letters of words were frequently omitted for the purpose of being afterwards blazoned and illuminated, and a number of errors crept into the text by these means, from the ignorance of transcribers. The mistake of the “ην” for “υν,” especially when abbreviated, might easily be made, and the “Παν κυνοκεφαλους” will not be a very inaccurate description of the dog-headed baboon, which was a native of that part of the world.

^h Dr. Shaw, in treating of the great Boa, “Boa constrictor,” (Linnæi Syst. Nat. 373.) makes the following observations. “Qui vasta et mirabilia naturæ opera nunquam “Αυτοπται” contem-
plati

had frequent occasion to animadvert on these tales and fables, in the history of the life of Alexander, but the Prince's historians, having drawn their information from these sources, could not help transmitting to us some of their absurdities. Diodorus Siculus mentions serpents of twenty-four feet¹ in length, and trees of one hundred

plati sunt, ii sane quicquid varie de illis scripserint peregrinatores, caute et dubitanter recipere solent; immo sæpe utpote fabulosum omnino rejiciunt. Inter hæc naturæ magnalia jure numerandi sunt serpentes illi ingentes, qui in nonnullis Indiæ, Africæ, et Americæ regionibus inveniuntur; quique in tantam magnitudinem adolescunt ut quadrupedia etiam majora ingurgitare possint; et longitudine adeo sunt enormi, ut sæpe pedes viginti, viginti-quinque vel etiam triginta superent. Horum temporis progressu multo rarior est conspectus, illosque probabile est regiones olim sane desertas, et nunc excultas, populosque frequentes reliquisse, et in tesqua deserta et remota exulasse. Spectantur tamen aliquando hortos et loca habitaculis suis propiora perreptantes." (Natur. Vivar. Fascic. secund.) It is possible therefore serpents of this extraordinary magnitude might have then existed, and that these Grecian writers, mixing a little truth with much falsehood, may be supposed in the words of Strabo, "Λεγειν δ' ἐν τινὰ, καὶ πιδανα, καὶ μνημὴς ἀξία, ὥς τε καὶ ἀπισθῆντα μὴ παρὰ εἰδέναι αὐτὰ." (Lib. 15.--1023.) A more ridiculous account of the ants may be found in the latter part of Strabo, (Lib. 15.--1032.) where Megasthenes reports that they were "Θηρίων ἀλωπεκῶν ἐκ ἐλατρίους," not less than foxes.

¹ "Εἶχεν ἡ χώρα πολλὰς καὶ παρῆλλαγμένους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ὄφεις, ὄντας ἑκαταῖς καὶ πενήναις." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--230.) Diodorus Siculus most probably borrowed the idea from Clitar- chus, for we learn from Ælian, "Κλειταρχῶ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φησὶ γινεσθῆαι ὄφιν πηχῶν ἑκαταῖς καὶ πενήναις." (Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 17. C. 1. Tom. 2.--918. 4^{to} 1744.) but Valerius Maximus hath given us an instance of a serpent of still more extraordinary dimensions. "Quæ quia usitatam rationem excedentia attigimus, serpentis quoque a T. Livio curiose pariter, ac facunde relata fiat mentio. Is enim ait in Africâ apud Bagradam flumen, tantæ magnitudinis anguem fuisse, at Attilii Reguli exercitum usu amnis prohiberet: multisque militibus ingenti ore correptis, compluribus caudæ voluminibus elisis, cum telorum jactu perforari nequiret, ad ultimum balistarum tormentis undique petitam, filicum crebris et ponderosis verberibus procubuisse, omnibusque et cohortibus et legionibus ipsâ Carthagine visam terribiliorem. Atque etiam cruore suo gurgitibus imbutis, corporisque jacentis pestifero afflatu vicinâ regione pollutâ, Romana inde summovisse castra. Dicit etiam beluæ corium CXX pedum, in urbem missum." (Lib. 1. C. 8.--117. 4^{to} L. B. 1726.) The Epitome of the eighteenth Book of Livy, which contained his account

of

dred and five feet in height, whose shade extended to the distance of no less than three plethra.^k Arrian with a less portion of credulity, when he has occasion to take notice of them, refutes their extravagance, and demonstrates their absurdity.^l

The manners and customs of the Indians are not described with greater fidelity or truth. Q. Curtius assures us, that these people
made

of this serpent, is only extant, but L. Florus, (Lib. 2. C. 2.--232. 8^{vo} L. B. 1744.) Seneca, (Epist. 82.--338. 8^{vo} Amst. 1672.) and Aulus Gellius (Lib. 6. C. 3.--351. 4^{to} L. B. 1706.) have taken notice of it, and Orosius hath left the story at full length. (Hist. Lib. 4. C. 8.--236. 4^{to} L. B. 1767.) Pliny mentions this piece of history, and adds "Pellis ejus maxillæque usque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romæ in templo. Faciunt his fidem in Italiâ appellatæ Boæ: in tantam amplitudinem exeuntes, ut Divo Claudio principe, occisæ in Vaticano solidus in alvo spectatus sit infans." Hist. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--153.

^k "Δενδρων γαρ ειχε γενη διαλλαττοντα, κ̃ το μεν ὑψ̃ εχοντα πηχων ἐβδομηκοντα, το δε παχ̃ μογισ ὑπο τετλιαρων ανδρων περιλαμβανομενα, τριων δε πλεδρων σκιαν ποιεντα." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--230.) This is undoubtedly a fabulous narrative, but a part of it may have been founded on substantial facts. Mr. Marsden gives the following description of the Banyan tree, termed by the Portuguese, Arbor de Raiis, and by the Malays, Iawee Iawee. "It possesses the uncommon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which when they touch the earth, become new stems, and go on increasing to such an extent, that some have measured in circumference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet, and have been said to shelter a troop of Horse." In a note he adds, "The dimensions of a remarkable Banyan or Burr tree near Manjee, twenty miles West of Patna in Bengal. Diameter 363 to 375 feet. Circumference of shadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the stems, in number fifty or sixty, 921 feet." (Marsden's History of Sumatra. 131.) This species of tree appears to be exactly described by the "των κατακαμπτόμενης εχοντων της κλαδης, κ̃ περι τε μεγαδης· ὡςδ' ὑφ' ἐνι δενδρω μεσημβριζειν σκιαζομενης ἱππεας πεντηκοντα" of Aristobulus. Strabo. Lib. 15.--1017.

^l "Εγω ετε οἱς τισι νομοις διαχρωνται εν τηδε τη ξυγγραφη ανεγραψα, ετε ζωα ειδη τινα ατοπα ἢ χωρα αυτοις εκφερει. ———— εδε της μυσημικας, της τον χρυσον σφισιν εργαζομενης, ———— εδε ὅτα αλλα εφ' ἡδονη μαλλον τι πεποιηται, η ες αφηγησιν των οντων. ὡς ταγε κατ' Ινδης ὅσα αν ατοπα ψευσανται, ουκ εξελεγθησομενα προς υδαμων." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 4.--346, 347.

made great use of wine in their entertainments, and that their kings in a state of intoxication were carried by their concubines to their beds.^m But from a conviction that such excesses were equally prejudicial to the physical constitution of the inhabitants, and fatal to the repose of society, which often suffered on these inflammations of the sanguinary passions, the legislators of the Southern regions of the world had wisely prohibited the use of all intoxicating liquors,ⁿ and their laws and ordinances were rigorously observed by all the Indian nations. Strabo relates, that if even any of their kings was put to death in a debauch by his queen, as a recompence for the meritorious deed she had the right of marrying his successor.^o The Brahmins abstained from wine, and the Hylobian philosophers,^p the first and most illustrious order of the Samaneans were equally abstemious. It was not even permitted to stop where wine was disposed of, and a breach of the prohibition was attended with disgrace.^q We learn from Megasthenes, that the Indians never drank
any

^m "Feminæ epulas parant, ab iisdem vinum ministratur, cujus omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes Deos." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--632, 633.

ⁿ "At reges, et gentes Indiæ permittunt fornicationem, poculum autem inebrians interdicit: præter regem Camar, qui tam fornicationem quam vinum interdicit." Geog. Nul. 32, 33.

^o "Μεθύοντα δὲ κτείνασα γυνὴ βασιλεῖα, γέρας ἔχει συνειναι τὸ ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενῳ." Strabo. Lib. 15. --1036.

^p "Υλοβίας——αφροδισίων χωρὶς, καὶ οἶνε." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1040. See also Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3.--451.

^q "Cela étoit même honteux à un homme du peuple." The Baron de St. Croix cites in support of the sentence the "Ἐπονειδισὸν τῷ μετρῷ" of Porphyrius. (De Abstin. Lib. 4.--364. Ed. de

any wine except in religious duties,^r and the Manicheans, who had adopted many Indian customs, considered it, according to St. Ephraim,^s “as the gall of the prince of darkness.”^t Yet it must be allowed, Athenæus tells us, that Alexander proposed at the death of Calanus prizes for those, who drank the most, in compliment to the Indian passion for wine.^w This writer extracted the anecdote out of the work of Chares, from whom it descended likewise to Ælian,^x but Ælian hath added that this species of contention was an Indian custom. Neither the authority however of Q. Curtius, nor that of Chares, can weaken or set aside the evidence, that has been produced, which is confirmed by the relations of modern travellers. The immutability of the Eastern laws and usages, which are exactly what those of their parents were before them, is well known; and neither the lapse of ages, the commerce with neighbouring nations, nor the invasion of foreign armies

de Rhoer. 4^{to} 1767.) The expression may possibly bear this construction, but the “*ingenuis hominibus*” of de Rhoer, is in decided opposition to it.

^r “Οἶνον τε γὰρ οὐ πίνειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν θυσιαῖς μόνον.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1035.

^s “Error Indicus Manetem tenuit.” S. Ephr. ex Vers. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. 1.--112.

^t “Vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum.” St. August. de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. C. 44.

^w “Δια τὴν φιλοινίαν τῶν Ἰνδῶν.” Athenæus. Lib. 10.--437.

^x “Χαρίζομεν^Θ δὲ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτῶν ἀγωνισμὰ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Καλάνου συγκαταθήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προσερχομένοις· οἰνοπυσίας γὰρ ἀγωνίαν πρῆβηκε.” Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 2. C. 41. Tom. 1.--172. 4^{to} 1731.

armies have had any influence on them. They are at this day what they were in the most distant periods. Their aversion to all inebriating liquors still continues, and the miserable and flighted Cast of the Parins^y is the only one, that has been addicted to them. Without recurring to the testimony of numerous writers, the respectable authority of the Ezour-Vedam will be sufficient to appeal to. We read in this ancient commentary on the Vedam, that Bramah and Vichnou followed by a long train of Brahmins, went to visit Chib, (the Lingam) on the mountain of Keil-laffan. They found him in the midst of his revels, and in the indecent gratification of his sensual passions. The Brahmins on this disgraceful spectacle loaded him with curses, and Chib on a recovery from his debauchery died of despair.^z This fable, though refuted by Chumantou in the following chapter, proves notwithstanding the horror, which the Indians had of such excesses, as well as their sentiments respecting the manners of Bollodekan or those of the Baudists, which the Eastern philosopher, who is a speaker in the Ezour-Vedam, hath given us. Their king acknowledges no Deity whatever. "His manners correspond with his religious system, and are barbarous to a degree of horror. A human skull serves him for a cup, and one of his great pleasures is to be carried
on

^y Lettres, Edifiantes. Tom. 15.--282. The Baron de St. Croix admits however that a commerce with the Europeans appears to have corrupted the other Casts, and Mr. Hodges was a witness to a scene of native debauchery, where the European vices had not then been propagated. See Travels in India. 93. 4^{to} 1793.

^z Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

on a bed which has served for the dying.^a Chumantou adds as the last trait of infamy, “that his common drink is an intoxicating liquor.”^b

In the description of the luxury of the Oriental courts, and their respectful manner of treating the Indian monarchs, Q. Curtius hath been strictly accurate, but in the division of their time he is not equally correct. “Their months^c contained but fifteen days, notwithstanding which, their years are complete. They compute their time by the course of the moon, but not as most people do, when that planet fills its orb; but when it begins to hollow itself into horns. This is the cause that they, who reckon after this manner, have them much shorter than other people.”^d—The Indians have certainly for more than seventeen hundred years, and since the time of Salivaganam, employed the Solar year,^e and it is very

3 D

probable

^a “Ces usages repondent assez bien a son system de religion, et ont quelque chose de barbare, qui fait horreur. Le crane d’un homme lui sert de coupe, il met son plaisir a se faire porter sur un lit, qui a servi à un mourant.” Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

^b “Sa boisson ordinaire est une liqueur enivrante.” Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 7. C. 2. See also Lib. 2. C. 2.

^c “Menses in quinos denos descripserunt dies. Anni pleni spatia servant. Lunæ cursu notant tempora, non ut plerique, quum orbem fidus implevit, sed quum se curvare cœpit in cornuâ. Et idcirco breviores habent menses, quî spatium eorum ad hunc lunæ modum dirigunt.” Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--633, 634.

^d Digby’s Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--96.

^e Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 3.—Bayer. Regn. Bact. 164—199.—Leon, Euler, de Indorum anno solari astronomico ad calcem. Hist. Regn. Bact. 201,—&c. &c.

probable the system was in use in the days of Alexander. This people divide and subdivide their time almost to infinity. From Poromanou^f to Ananden there is the immense and astonishing period of one hundred and forty millions of years!^g Twelve months compose the Indian year, and each of these twelve months is again divided by the new and full moon.^h Q. Curtius may possibly have been led into his error by this division, which at the same time proves the antiquity of this mode of calculation.

Arrian hath preserved in his fragment of Indian history some valuable relics of geography, and indeed there are few of the moderns, whose notions respecting the interior part of India are so correct. "This little work," says Monsieur d'Anville, "affords us more information respecting the course of the rivers of this country than many modern notions."ⁱ This able geographer does the historian also justice, on the subject of his detail of Alexander's marches in India, and he frankly avows that he is the author "entitled to the greatest credit."^k Throwing a glance over the fourth chapter of his Indian history, we may perceive at once Arrian's accuracy and
precision

^f Bagavadam. Lib. 3.--44.—Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 4.

^g Extr. du Diragala-Sakkarum dans l'Hist. du Christian. des Indes. Tom. 2.--287.

^h Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 4.

ⁱ "Cet opuscule nous apprend bien des circonstances plus propres, que les notions actuelles à instruire de ce que deviennent les rivières de cette région entre elles." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--340.

^k "Le plus accredité qui soit à consulter à ce sujet." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--334.

precision relating to the Ganges, the rivers that open into it, and the neighbouring nations. It is with concern, we must observe, that the same accuracy and precision are unfortunately wanting, when he mentions the Indus and the rivers which empty their waters into it.

Strabo, distinguished alike for his critical abilities and geographical knowledge, hath left us a description of India, that is well adapted to explain the country through which Alexander passed with his army. With great judgment he hath adopted the opinions that appeared to be most probable, he connects a concise account of the expedition of the Macedonian troops with his geographical information, and including an abridged history of the manners, the customs and philosophy of the Indians, he hath moulded the whole into a form, from which his readers may receive both entertainment and improvement. On a comparison of Ptolemy with this able writer, with Pliny whose brevity sometimes renders him obscure, and whose geographical terms are sometimes faulty, and in short with the historians of the life of Alexander, it is impossible to reconcile him with these different authors, or to draw any just idea of the course of the rivers of India, or the actual situation of places. The Bydaspes or Hydaspes, according to Ptolemy, receives successively two rivers, the Sandabilis and Adrius or Rhuadis, and afterwards empties itself into the Zadracus, which after an union on the right with the Bibasis, (without doubt the Hyphases or Hyphasis) after a short passage opens into

the Indus.¹ Monsieur d'Anville judiciously observes, "that it is not the diversity of some names with which we are dissatisfied in this description, but the erroneous manner in which these rivers are said to flow."^m Alexander's marches, as related by Strabo and Arrian, furnish us with more certain information, and their descriptions are not inapplicable to the real situation of the country.

The Conqueror of Asia began his march at Alexandria, the modern Candahar, passed the Cophena and the Choes and afterwards the Indus, the present Sinde,ⁿ and reduced Taxila. After his conquest, he quitted Taxila and entered into the country now called Pen-jab, which in the Persian tongue signifies five rivers, and crossed the Hydaspes. The banks of this river were celebrated for the defeat of Porus, and the Conqueror then advanced to the Acesines, and afterwards to the Hydroates or Heraotes, and at last to the Hyphasis, as it is termed by Arrian, or the Hypasis of Pliny and Q. Curtius, and Hypanis of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. It would be at present difficult to ascertain these rivers,

¹ Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--170.

^m "Ce n'est pas tant la diversité de quelques noms qui déplait dans cette exposition, que le défaut dans la manière de faire courir ces rivières les unes par rapport aux autres." *Eclaircissement sur la Carte de l'Inde.* 36.

ⁿ "Indus incolis Sindus appellatur, (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.) which is not widely different, the Baron de St. Croix observes, from the Send of the Oriental geographers, and the Chindou of the Ezour-Vedam.

rivers,^o but it is probable that by the Hydaspes we are to understand the Shantrow, by the Acesines the Ravei or the river that passes by Lahour, by the Hydraotes the Biah, and by the Hyphases the Caul.^p In the country of the Choes the difficulty increases. Monsieur d'Anville's opinion, on the whole seems the only one admissible. "We see" says he, "that the Choes being undoubtedly the river Cow, the Cophus, which we previously met with, must be the river (Mehram-Hir) which has its source near Candahar."^q

The Choes is called by Strabo the Choaspes,^r but it appears to be an error, and the Choes, which is the name given to this river by Arrian,^s and confirmed with a slight alteration by the Coa of Ptolemy,^t carries the appearance of authenticity. The name of the Choaspes indeed might occasion the mistake, and also the confusion

^o "Ces fleuves ont reçu tant de noms particuliers des modernes qui en ont parlé, qu'on a présentement de la peine à les discerner les uns des autres, et même la plupart de ces noms sont confondus." Thevenot. Tom. 5.--180.

^p The Baron de St. Croix here adopts the opinion of Monsieur d'Anville. Major Rennel supposes the Hydaspes to be the Behut or Chelum, the Acesines the Ienaub or Chunaub, the Hydroates the Rauvee, and the Hyphasis the Settlege or Suttuluz. The reasons for his opinion may be seen in his valuable Memoir of a Map of Hindostan.

^q "On voit que Choes étant indubitablement la rivière nommée Cow, le Cophes qui se rencontre auparavant doit être la rivière (Mehram-Hir) qui sort des environs de Candahar." Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--340.

^r Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

^s "Πέρα τον Χοην καλεσμενον ποταμον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 23.--316.

^t Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--169.

fion of the Choes with the Choaspes of Sufia. Dionysius the geographer has fallen into the error, when he tells us, that the Choaspes rolling along its Indian waters washes the environs of Sufa.^w Eustathius, his commentator, in his explanation of this geographer has added to the error, and pretends that by the Indian waters Dionysius intended to intimate, that the Choaspes, which flowed near Sufa, was a branch of the Indus.^x It might rather have been imagined that the poet, taking Aristotle for his guide, who speaks only of the Sufian Choaspes, though he supposes it to rise in the Paropamisus,^y prolongs the course of this river from the extremities of India as far as Sufia, and only intended by the expression of its Indian waters, to point out its source in India. This mode of treating of the situation of different rivers and countries was not indeed without example amongst the Greeks, who have overturned the geography of the universe. Strabo relates that Diotimus, one of the chiefs of an Athenian deputation, had passed up the Cydnus from Cilicia to the Choaspes, which conducted him to Sufa.^z It has been the fate of this river to be the subject of many such

^w “—————Χοασπης

‘Ελκων Ινδον ἰδωρ, παρα τε ρειων χθονα Συσων.’

Dionys. Perieg. V. 1074, 1075.

^x “Χοασπης Ινδον μεν ἰδωρ, ἔλκων, ὡς εκ τῆ Ινδου σχιζομενῳ ποταμῳ, παραρρεων δε ἐν τα Συσῳ.”

Eustath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 1075.--132. 4^{to} 1577.

^y “Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Aristot. Opera. Tom. 1.--768.

^z “Διοτιμον δε τον Στρομβιχῃ, πρεσβείας Αθηναίων αφηγημενον, δια τῆ Κυδνου αναπλευσαι εκ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπι τον Χοασπιν ποταμον, ὅς παρα τα Συσῳ ρει, ἐν αφικεσθαι τεσσαρακοσίων εἰς Συσῳ.” Strabo. Lib. 1.--81.

such errors, and Monsieur de l'Isle is not warranted in his idea of the Choes falling into the Indus and running in a direction, which cannot possibly agree with the actual position of places. The pretended Choaspes, as Strabo assures us, discharges itself into the Cophena,^a and the march of the Macedonian army, as described by Arrian, fully authenticates the opinion.

At the conflux of the Choes and Cophena we find, according to Monsieur d'Anville, the fabulous city of Nyfa, which he fancies to be the Nagara of Ptolemy, and the Nagar of the Turkish geographer, who places this city, from the thirty-two degrees and a half of Latitude which he assigns to it, East of Candahar, and five days journey from Kabal.^b Monsieur d'Anville appears to have fixed the position of Nyfa, from the mountain Merou, which he imagines to be near it, in the thirty-third degree of Latitude. The historians of Alexander's life and actions have spoken of the proximity of the mountain Merou,^c but instead of authorizing their evidence, it proves their ignorance and errors. The mountain Meru or Merou, which is pretended to have been the Meros of the Greeks, is highly celebrated amongst the Indians. The Bagavadam, one of their eighteen Pouranams or Canonical books, menti-

ons

^a "Και τον Χοασπην, ὅς ἐς τον Κωφην ἐμβαλλει ποταμον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

^b Eclaircissement de la Carte de l'Inde. 21, 22.

^c "Και το ορεος το προς τη πολει, οὔτε ἐν τῇσι ὑπὸ ὕψεισι ὡκισαι ἡ Νυσσα, Μηδὲ κληίζεται." (Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 1.--550.) Situ est sub radicibus montis, quem Merou incolæ appellant." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 10. Tom. 2.--636, 637.

ons it in the following terms. "In the middle of the world there is a great island called Iambam or Iambon, of one hundred thousand Yoffineys both in length and breadth. A Yoffiney is a distance of four hours' travelling. In the midst of this island is the mountain Merou, which is a hundred thousand Yoffineys in height, ten thousand deep, and thirty-two thousand wide. To the North of this mountain there are two other mountains, one called Nilavarnam, and the other Velleyvarnam, which form a chain from East to West as far as the salt ocean." The details into which the author

« "Il y a au milieu du monde la grande île, nommée Iambam ou Iambon, qui a de longueur cent mille Yôffineis et autant de largeur. Un Yôffineis est une marche de quatre heures en chemin. Au milieu de cette île est la montagne Merou, haute de cent mille Yôffineis, profonde de dix mille et large de trente-deux mille. Au nord de cette montagne, il y a deux autres montagnes: l'une nommée Nilavarnam, et l'autre Velleyvarnam, qui font une chaîne de l'est à l'Ouest jusqu'à la mer salée." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.-93. A manuscript in the library of Monsieur de Bertin.) The Baron de St. Croix hath introduced in a note the following curious description of the mountain Merou and its environs, from the Bagavadam, which was originally written in the Sanscreet language, and reduced into French by Maridas Pouli, the principal interpreter at Pondicherry, who dedicated it to Monsieur de Bertin the French Minister and Secretary of State. "A l'est de Merou, il existe une autre montagne nommée Mandaram; au Sud celle nommée Souvarisvam, à l'Ouest une autre nommée Coumoudam; et au Nord celle de Sroungam. Ces quatre montagnes sont dans une position si exacte, qu'à les voir il paroîtroit qu'on y avoit placé de grandes colonnes pour y construire une voûte. Leurs elevations sont à dix milles yôffineis. Il y a quatre arbres aux sommets de ces quatre montagnes, lesquels se nomment Soûdam, Cadapam, Alam, et Nâval, qui portent des fruits et des fleurs dans tous les temps, dont les rameaux paroissent avoir mille yôffineys d'étendue.

Dans le Merou, il y a quatre étangs, étendus chacun à cent yôffineys en carré; un rempli de lait, l'autre de beurre, le troisième de taïr (lait caillé) et le dernier de suc de canne.

Les quatre montagnes ont chacune un jardin de délices; ces jardins sont nommés Nandam, Saytradam, Rayprassidam et Sarvalôca-paûtram. Celui qui mange le fruit de Soûdam (mangue) de la montagne de Mandoram, acquiert l'immortalité. Le jus de ces fruits courant comme un ruisseau,

thor of this work enters respecting the mountain Merou, are undoubtedly full of fables and puerile tales, and there is no possibility of ascertaining from such trash its real position. The Indian writer adds, "the great mountain Merou is lighted by the sun during six whole months: in the six others there is continual night."^e Soon after we are told, that "one part of the chariot of the sun rests on the mountain Merou, and the rest of it is suspended by the air."^f

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The

ruisseau, forme un fleuve et est nommé Rossôdoram (courant de jus). Le jus des fruits de Nâval, qui est sur la montagne Souvarisvam, produisant de même un ruisseau nommé Jambou, a donné son nom à l'île Jambou qu'il arrose.

Les deux autres arbres produisent de même deux autres rivières, qui arrosent le pays d'Ilavroudam.

A l'Est, et à l'Ouest de même de Merou, il y a deux montagnes nommées Gedâ-Coûdam et Pariatram, qui forment une chaîne en longueur de 18,000 yôssineys, du Nord au Sud. Les Dieux fréquentent ces montagnes où ils prennent leurs divertissemens.

Au sommet de Merou, il y a une grande Ville de dix mille yôssineys en carré. Cette Ville se nomme Brahmapatnam et est toute éclatante d'or. A l'entour de cette Ville, il y a huit autres Villes gouvernées par les Dieux des huit points Cardinaux de l'Univers. Un ruisseau nommé Brahmânda-Cadam, sortant du haut du Merou, arrose la Ville de Brahma, sort par les quatre portes de cette Ville, et forme quatre fleuves nommés Sadalam, Sadassou, Patram, et Alagucy. Un de ces fleuves s'élevant en l'air, lave les pieds de Visnou. L'autre, qui sort du côté du Sud, arrose le pays de Nichetam, Yemacoudam, Ymossalam, et se jette ensuite dans le pays de Baradam. C'est ce fleuve que Sivan prit sur sa tête, et delà il a été nommé Ganga-Taren ou Siven, (celui qui porte sur sa tête Ganga.) Bagavadam. Livr. 5.

^e "La grande montagne Merou est éclairée par le soleil pendant six mois entiers: une nuit continuelle règne les six autres." Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--100.

^f "Le chariot du soleil est appuyé d'un bout contre le mont Merou, et le reste est soutenu par l'air." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--102.) Sonnerat adds "Il n'a qu'une roue; sept chevaux verts le traînent; le Dieu Avounin est le conducteur. Les vagaguilliers au nombre de soixante mille suivent le soleil dans ses douze loges, en l'adorant et psalmodiant différens airs à sa louange." Voyages aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine." Tom. 1.--122. A Work of authenticity and value.

The Ezour-Vedam, an ancient commentary of the Vedam, written in the Sanscreeet language and translated by a Brahmin of Benares, fixes the situation of the mountain Merou, at the source of the Ganges, which rises in this mountain. The description of it in this Indian book, which supposes it to be in the centre of the world and of an immense height,^s agrees however even still less with the position which a modern geographer hath allotted to it. Bayer observes, that in the Indian geography entitled Puwana-Saccaram, the mountain Merou is described in a very fabulous manner,^h and perhaps its existence has no other foundation than Indian imagination. In a work of Fo or Foe, an ancient Indian legislator, which has been translated into the Chinese language, the extasies of a Samanian philosopher are compared to the immobility of the mountain

^s “Au milieu de la terre, est la plus grande de toutes les montagnes, qui s’ appelle Merou. C’ est-là qu’ est situé le pays appelé Zomboudipo, qui est le pays de l’ Inde : au Midi et au Couchant de la montagne de Merou, sont situés differens pays. En voici les noms, Zombou, Pelokio; Koucho, Chako, Krohonro, Pourkoro, Chalmouli. Tous ces pays, ou toutes ces îles, sont également habites. Il y a plusieurs fleuves sur la terre. Les principaux sont Brommora, Bodra, Ganga ou le Gange : ces trois fleuves prennent leur source dans le mont Merou, et vont se décharger dans la mer. Le premier coule au Nord et le Gange au Midi. Il traverse à son embouchure et inonde quantité de bois. J’ ai dit que le Zomboudipo ou l’ Inde étoit situé au Midi de la montagne. &c. &c.” (Zend-Avesta. Livr. 1. C. 3.) “Au milieu de la terre est une montagne d’ une hauteur prodigieuse à qui on a donné le nom de Merou. Aux quatre côtés de celle-ci s’ elevent quatre autres montagnes ; savoir, les montagnes Ketouman, Mallioban, Mandaro, Chuparchodo. Il y a pareillement sur ces quatre montagnes quatre arbres d’ une grandeur prodigieuse ; savoir, les arbres Ambro, Kodanbo, Zombou, Niogrodo. Au pied de la montagne Mandaro coule un fleuve qui, recevant dans ses eaux les fleuves qui tombent de l’ arbre Zombou, en contracte l’ odeur. Tout le pays qu’ arrose ce fleuve est appelé Zomboudipo ; voilà d’ où il a tiré son nom.” Zend-Avesta. Livr. 1. C. 6.

^h “Fabulosissime describitur.” Hist. Regn. Baët. 4.

mountain Siami, which is the Merou or Smerouⁱ under contemplation.

To give some credit to the travels of Bacchus, the Greeks supposed that all the monuments, which they met with, were so many vestiges of the progress of this Deity. Stephanus Byzantinus reckons no less than ten cities of the name of Nyfa, some in Lybia, some in Ægypt, others in Greece, Thrace and mount Caucasus, and the fourth in the list is that in India.^k Hefychius, on the contrary, pretends that Nyfa was a general term applied to many mountains in different parts of the world,^l and he mentions no less than fifteen under this denomination. Aristodemus, in his first book of Theban inscriptions, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus into India, takes notice only of the mountain of Nyfa,

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and

ⁱ Histoire des Huns, par Monsieur de Guignes. Tom. 1. P. 2.--233.

^k "Etienne de Byfance compte jusqu' a dix villes de Nyfa——la septieme est celle de l'Inde." This is a gross typographical error, and I have rectified it. "Τεταρακτη εν Ινδοις." (Stephan. Byzant. 594. Fol. L. B. 1694.) The sentence however includes another of greater magnitude, and the Baron de St. Croix hath confounded in a very extraordinary manner the cities, which bore the name of "Νικαια," with those termed "Νυσσα" or "Νυσσα," whose etymology and derivation were very different. The latter might have a fabulous relation to Dionysius or Bacchus: the former were founded probably on the site of some local victories, and Arrian tells us the Nicæa in India, which Stephanus Byzantinus mentions, was built in memory of the defeat of Porus. "Και την μεν, Νικαιαν, της Νικης της κατ' Ινδων επωνυμιον ωνομασε." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

^l "Νυσσα η Νυσηιον Ορϙη καδ' ενα τοπον εστι γαρ Αραβιας, Λιβυωπιας, Αιγυπτου, Βαβυλωνϙη, Ερυθρας, Θητλιας, Κιλικιας, Ινδικης, Λιβυης, Λυδης, Μακεδονιας, Ναξου περι το Παρταγον, τοπϙη Συριας." Hefychius, Tom. 2.--694. Ed. Alberti. 1764.

and Clitarchus confines himself to it in the history of Alexander.^m Pliny speaks of the mountain of Nyfaⁿ and of a city with the name,^o and it appears by a passage of Aristotle,^p that the Greek writers amused themselves with sketching out descriptions of this mountain. Without any attempt at a decision whether Nyfa was a city or a mountain, its existence in India is as problematical as even the expedition of Bacchus, of which the Ancients imagined it to be a proof.^q Arbitrary etymologies can scarcely be allowed to be sufficient to demonstrate the identity of any of the modern cities with the ancient Nyfa, and even from the number which have equal pretensions to the honour, it would certainly be multiplied in such a manner as to discredit their general claim to the antiquity.

^m “Και Κλειταρχῷ ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱστορίαις· προσιστορῶν ὅτι καὶ Νυσσὰ οὐκ εἰν ἐν Ἰνδικῇ.” Scholia, ad Apoll. Rhod. V. 907. Lib. 2.

ⁿ “In Indiæ vero Nyfa monte.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 39. Tom. 2.--201.

^o “Nec non et Nyfam urbem plerique Indiæ adscribunt, montemque Merum, Libero patri facrum.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 21. Tom. 1.--691.

^p De Mundo, C. 1. Aristot. Opera. Tom. 1.--846.

^q “Ἐστὶ δὲ τις θητηὶ εὐρείῃ παρὰ Γαγγην
χωρὶς τιμηεῖς τε καὶ ἱερῶν, ὃν ποτὶ Βακχῷ
Θυμαινῶν ἐπάτησεν.”

Dionys. Perieg. 1153—1155.

“Τὸν δὲ χωρὸν ὃν ὁ Διονυσίου Θυμαινῶν ἐπάτησε, θητηὸν καὶ τιμηεντα καλεῖ, καὶ ἱερὸν· λεγὼν ὅτι ὁ τοιαύτη τοπὶ Νυσσῶν ὁδὸς ἐκλήθη. ἥτις περὶ τὸν Γαγγην εἰν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρραβικῆς Νυσσῆς κληθεῖσα, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Διονύσιος κληθῆναι δοκεῖ· Νυσσὰ δὲ, κατὰ τὸν γεωγραφόν, πόλις ἐν Ἰνδία, κτισμὰ Διονύσου, καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ Μεγῶν.” Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 4^{to} Stephan. 1577.—See also Apollodorus. Lib. 3. C. 5.—Philostrat. Vit. Apollod. Tyan, Lib. 2, C. 9.—Q. Curt. Lib. 8, C. 10.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5, C. 2.

antiquity. Abulfeda mentions many cities termed Nyfapaur in Persia, Bactriana and the Khorasan, and two with the name of Nafa,^r which differs little from Nyfa, one in Persia and the other in the Kerman. Far from connecting the etymology of Nyfapour with Dionysius or Bacchus, some learned men have understood the word to be derived from the name of some of the Eastern princes, as in the instance of Sapor, a king of Persia.^s It seems, in short, that we have no more reason to mark the precise situation of Nyfa or the mountain Meros in our modern maps, than that of the celebrated island of Panchaia of Euemerus. We may be however satisfied that the fables, which have been interwoven in the description of mount Meros, originated from the superstitious veneration, that many people and particularly the Eastern nations, entertained for some celebrated mountains. Porra in the kingdom of Arrakan, and Pecha in China, the Isje in Japan, Olaimi in the country of the Apalachites, and a multitude of others acquired a great reputation, and from thence followed the species of religious veneration with which they were afterwards regarded. The existence of these mountains, admitting even the accounts, that have been circulated concerning them, to have been in general fabulous, is nevertheless certain, though we may not be able, to ascertain their true position and that of the mountain Merou in particular.

Alexander

^r "Nafa quoque est urbs in Perside, et altera ejusdem nominis in Karman." Abulfeda, Vers. cit.

^s Golius in Affer. 188.—Schultens. Ind. Geograph. ad Calcem Vitæ. Salad. Bohadini Nyfabour.

Alexander after the conquest of the whole country on this side of the Indus, passed that river, and arrived at Taxila, and then marched in a direct line to the Hydaspes. The situation of Taxila ought therefore to be South of the actual junction of the Tchenau with the Indus. On the supposition of its being situated on the conflux of these two rivers, the Macedonian army in their march to attack Porus must have previously passed the Tchenau, which by no means agrees with the itinerary of Alexander. This Prince having received, as we learn from Arrian a reinforcement of five thousand Indians under the command of Taxilus, directed his march towards the Hydaspes and encamped upon its banks. [†] Strabo informs us that Taxila, a powerful city and governed by excellent laws, was between the Indus and the Ganges, ^ω but he certainly would not have expressed himself in this manner, if it had been situated at the conflux of the Tchenau and the Indus. These observations appear to justify the historians of Alexander's life and actions, though Monsieur d'Anville accuses them with having mistaken the Tchenau for the Indus, and from this error with having multiplied the latter river. "From the course of Alexander's expedition," says the learned geographer, "we may suppose the Tchenau to be the river, that he passed under the name of the Indus, for instead of four rivers, we meet with five undoubtedly

[†] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 8.--357.

^ω "Μεταξυ δε τῆς Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τῆς Ὑδασπευ, Ταξιλα εἰς πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐνομητάτη." Strabo. Lib. 15.
--1022.

doubtedly in the course of his expedition.”^{*} On the contrary there are only four. Alexander marches from Taxila, reaches the Hydaspes, which he passes, and he afterwards crosses the Acesines, Hydraotes and Hyphasis.[†] The Macedonian monarch, agreeable to Strabo, having learnt that the rivers of India formed junctions with each other, directed his march below these junctions, to avoid the inconveniency of crossing the rivers so very frequently, and the embarrassment from his want of boats.[‡] When he passed therefore the Hydaspes, he must have left the Tchenau to the left.—It might be difficult at present to determine what was the Tchenau,[§] as the Ancients have not left us any very clear notions of it, though it seems likely to be the Tutape or Toutape, that Arrian speaks of as a considerable river, which can only agree with the Tchenau, though he supposes it to empty itself into the Acesines,^{||} whose course is extended, against all probability, to the South of Taxila. Arrian places also Peucela at a little distance from

^{*} “La suite de l’expédition d’Alexandre veut que le Tchenau soit la rivière qu’il traversa sous le nom d’Indus; car au lieu de quatre fleuves à reconnoître dans la suite de cette expédition, comme on verra ci-après, il y en auroit indubitablement cinq.” Eclaircissement sur la Carte de l’Inde. 34.

[†] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

[‡] Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

[§] The Tchenau is one of the most rapid rivers of Penjab. See Thevenot. Tom. 5.--174, 175. —Voyage de Bernier. Tom. 2.--258, 259.

^{||} “Καὶ Τυταπὸς δὲ μικρὸς ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Αἰνισινὴν ἐκδίδει.” Arrian, Hist. Ind. C. 4.--556.

from the Indus,^c a position, which cannot be reconciled even by Monsieur d'Anville^d to the Tchenau: Peucela is really situated on the Indus, which we meet with immediately after the Cophina.^e Q. Curtius neither possesses the accuracy nor precision, that distinguish Arrian's geographical details, and whilst he is obscure when he speaks of the different people of India and its rivers that throw themselves into the Indus, he is apt to contradict the historical part of his work. This Latin historian assures us without reserve, that the Acesines augments the waters of the Ganges, which receives it near its embouchure. "The^f Acesines swells it: the Ganges intercepts this river a little before it discharges itself into the sea; at their first meeting they dash furiously against each other, for the Ganges is very rough where it receives it, and the Acesines is too violent to give way to the other's resisting streams."^g We are soon afterwards informed that the Acesines becomes con-founded

^c "Και άλλη πόλις Πευκελα, ἐστὶ μεγάλη καὶ αὐτὴ, καὶ μακρὰν τὴν Ἰνδόν." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 1. --550.

^d Eclaircissement sur la Carte de la P^r Inde. 33, 34.

^e "Μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Κωφὸν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ῥεῖ." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1022.

^f "Acesines eum auget. Ganges decursurum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu amnis uterque conliduntur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti objicit; nec repercussæ aquæ cedunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--623.) We learn from Arrian that the Acesines discharges itself into the Indus. "Ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν Μαλλοῖς ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ." (Hist. Ind. C. 4.--556.) And Pliny adds his authority to Arrian. "Indus—undeviginti recipit amnes. Sed clarissimos, Hydaspem—Cantabram—Acesinem et Hyphasin." Hist. Nat. Lib. 6, C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.

^g Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--92, 93.

founded with the Hydaspes ^h when they join, and the Macedonian fleet suffered exceedingly where these two rivers met,ⁱ but he is again mistaken, for the Acesines, called erroneously the Tanais ^k by some authors, loses itself in the Indus.^l Justin is guilty of an error equally extravagant, when he supposes Alexander to descend by the Acesines to the Ocean.^m The anonymous author of *Ravenner* ⁿ hath copied this error, though Justin indeed seems to retract it in the following chapter, where he mentions the arrival of the Macedonian Conqueror at the Ocean, and adds that he happily reached the mouths of the Indus.^o

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Monsieur

^h “Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--691.) “Acesini Hydaspis confunditur.” Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694.

ⁱ “Iterque meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque quum crebri fluctus se inveherent, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent; subducere nautæ cæperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc metu, hinc prærapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. In oculis duo majora omnium navigia submersa sunt; leviora quum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt.” Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694, 695.

^k See Steph. Byzant.

^l Arrian is particularly circumstantial. “Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ὑδασπης μενεν τον Ακεσινην εμβαλλει· εμβαλων δε, το παν ὕδωρ, Ακεσινης παρερχεται καλεμενον· Αυδης δε ὁ Ακεσινης ἐτὶ συμβαλλει τῷ Ὑδραωτῇ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τῆτον, εἰς Ακεσινης εἰς. Καὶ τον Ὑφανιν ἐπὶ τῆτῳ ὁ Ακεσινης παραλαβὼν, τῷ αὐτῷ δὴ ονομαζτι εἰς τον Ἰνδον εμβαλλει· συμβαλων δε, συγχωρεὶ δὴ τῷ Ἰνδῳ.” Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

^m “Alexander ad Acesinem amnem pergīt: per hunc in Oceanum devehitur.” Justin. Lib. 12. C. 9.--327.

ⁿ Lib. 2. C. 3.

^o “Secundo æstu ostio fluminis Indi invehitur.” Justin. Lib. 12. C. 10.--331.

Monfieur d'Ifle, inftead of conducting the Hyphafis, which is the moft Eaſtern river of Penjab, into the Aceſines, fuppoſes it to flow into the Indus, and extends its courſe as far as Patalene, but he has not explained his reaſons for deviating ſo widely from all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed this river.^p Notwithſtanding the obligations we are under to Monfieur d'Ifle for his labours, which have been ſo very uſeful to a knowledge of the globe, his map of Alexander's empire is undoubtedly imperfect, and the conqueſts of that monarch are very inaccurately ſtated. Arrian, the ableſt and beſt informed guide that could have been conſulted on the ſubject, appears to have been entirely neglected. Monfieur d'Anville hath kept him conſtantly in view, and hath profited from the luminous manner in which the Greek hiſtorian hath treated of this part of the world, which was ravaged by the Conqueror of the Eaſt. After having reduced the elevation of Latitude, given to Cachemir by the Oriental calculations,^q and having by theſe means allowed a greater extent to the marches of the Macedonian army, Monfieur d'Anville imagines he is able to aſſert, that Alexander reached Cachemir, though he allows, "that in the details of Alexander's marches, we ſee nothing that diſtinguiſhes the actual ſituation of this country."^r But it ſeems an
indifpenſable

^p Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde.

^q Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 27, 28.

^r "Quoique dans le detail des marches de ce Prince, on ne voit rien qui reſſemble à ce qui diſtingue ce pays par ſa ſituation." *Geographie Ancienne*, 338, Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 34.

indispensable rule, in a comparison of ancient and modern opinions on such subjects, and an endeavour to conciliate them, that some regard should invariably be had to the inferences, which may be naturally drawn from the situations of the places in dispute. Cachemir supplies us with decisive ones.—Shut up by the stupendous mountains, which separate India from Thibet and Great Tartary, it is impossible to penetrate into it on any side, except by a painful and laborious ascent in the face of immense rocks.^s Abulfeda relates, that Oguzkhan was stopped a whole year at the entrance of these mountains,^t which admitted only three passages, attended with such almost insurmountable obstructions,^w that they had guaranteed the country against the incursions of many conquerors.^x If Alexander had penetrated into it, is it to be supposed that his historians would have been silent on his success, and taken no notice of such an important conquest?—Monsieur d'Anville acknowledges there is not any thing in Alexander's itinerary,

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from

^s Notes on Abulgazi. 52.

^t Hist. Gen. des Tatars par Abulgazi-Khan. 53.

^w Sherefeddin. Hist. de Timur-bec. Livr. 4. C. 31. "Il n'y a que trois passages tres etroits pour pouvoir passer dans ce pays; on appelle ces passages Derbend. Celui de Khorassan est tres difficile et etroit, les bêtes chargées n'y peuvent pas passer; on est obligé de faire transporter les marchandises sur le dos des hommes qu'on loue pour cet effet; ce qu'ils font avec beaucoup de peine: le passage des Indes est de meme que celui du Khorassan. Celui de Thibet est à la verité un peu moins difficile que les autres; mais comme à la distance de quelque journees ce terrain n'est couverte que d'Herbes venimeuses, cela est cause que la cavalerie ni les Caravannes ne peuvent pas y passer; c'est pourquoi ce passage n'est guere praticable." Geograph. Turc, 404, 405.

^x Geograph. Turc. 404.

from which we even may suppose it, but “he is unwilling to believe, that a knowledge of this country, so celebrated in India for its beauties was concealed from the Ancients.”^y The same reasons would induce us to believe that China was also known to them. “Any similitude in the name,” adds Monsieur d’Anville, “is an argument for the probability.”^z But do we find any striking resemblance to justify the observation between the Caspira of the Ancients and Cachemir, or rather the Kaschmir of the Orientals, still called in some places, Kichimir? Though the first syllable indeed has some resemblance in sound, no certainty arises from it that the two words were intended to express the same, and the proof, which the learned geographer draws from the position of Caspira, the capital of the country with its name, which Ptolemy places in the centre of India,^a is equally fallacious.

The Macedonians, on their arrival at the mouths of the Indus, first became acquainted with the tides, and looked on the flux and reflux of the Ocean with wonder and astonishment.^b A modern writer,

^y “Que la connoissance de cette contrée, si celebre dans l’Inde par ses agrements, ait été cachée à l’antiquité.” Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

^z “Un grand rapport de denomination est un moyen de convenance.” Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

^a Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--171.

^b “Ενταυθα ὁρμίσαντων, τῷ πάθειμα ἐπιγιγνεται τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἡ ἀμπωτις· ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηρῶ ἀπαλειφθήσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες. Καὶ τὸτο ἔ το πρότερον ἐγινώκει τοῖς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, ἐκπλήξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσμιξαν

writer, distinguished both for his ingenuity and paradoxes, hath criticised this relation of Alexander's historians, and remarks that the Macedonian troops could not have been surpris'd at the phænomenon, as they had already been spectators of it in their passage on the coast of Ægypt. But the Macedonian troops did not then see the Red sea, and could only have learnt from information, what they afterwards witnessed on a view of the Ocean in the greatest magnificence, as the highest known tides are those of the gulph of Sinde at the mouths of the Indus, where the sea retires with uncommon rapidity, and leaves a great tract of land uncovered and dry.^c This effect therefore of the flux and reflux of the Ocean naturally astonish'd the Macedonians, and hath been properly observed by their historians. It was not then so very trifling as Le Clerc hath imagin'd^d in his criticism on Q. Curtius. But the Latin historian is often censured by him, frequently without taste and with injustice, and constantly with keenness and severity.

Alexander began his march from the mouths of the Indus, to return to Babylon through the country to the West of this river. Plutarch informs us, that after having passed through the country of the Orites and Gedrosia, the Conqueror of the East employed
seven

*σμίκεαν παρεσχέ. πολυ δε δη επι μειζονα, απο τε διελθους της ωρας προσηει τε το υδωρ, κ̃ τα σκαφη με-
τεωριζοντο.*" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 19.--445. 446.) Q. Curtius hath launched as usual into a luxuriant description. Lib. 9. C. 9. Tom. 2.--730—736.

^c Varenius. Geograph. C. 14. Propos. 14.

^d "Huc etiam accedit, quod æstus in mari Indico exiguus sit, nec tantos tumultus creare possit."
Judicium de Curtio. 453.

seven days in crossing Carmania, and then arrived at the capital of Gedrosia. This must be an error of the transcriber, and we should read Carmania with Dacier, which is a more natural correction than one suggested by Moses of Chorene,^e and agrees with the accounts of the other historians, and Arrian^f and Strabo^g in particular. The text of Plutarch will then only present the extraordinary transposition of Gedrosia to the West of Carmania.

OF THE NAVIGATION OF NEARCHUS.

The expedition of Nearchus forms a period of some consideration in the history of the navigation of the Ancients, and has a claim to particular investigation.—Nearchus was the son of Adrotimus, a native of Crete,^h and one of the ablest of the Macedonian officers. Before Alexander's accession to the throne, Nearchus and the young Prince had been intimately connected, and Philip had even ordered Nearchus into exile for his attachment

^e "Ἐκ τῆς Γεδροσίας." Not. in Plutarch.

^f "Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 22.--452.

^g Strabo. Lib. 15.--1051——1053.

^h Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 18.--587.

ment to his Son, at which he took offence. Alexander confided to him the command of his fleet, which was to pass from the mouths of the Indus to the Euphrates, and the choice which he made, was highly pleasing to all who were to have a share in the expedition.ⁱ Amongst the adventurers there were Phœnicians, Cypriots, people from the Hellespont, and Ionians, and they saw with satisfaction Nearchus at the head of the enterprise, of which he hath given a circumstantial relation in his journal: Arrian hath preserved it. Pliny after mentioning that the journal of Nearchus and Onesicritus neither supplied him with the names nor distances of places,^k attempts to give us an abridged itinerary, with the names of places and their distances reduced into Roman miles, but it hath not any resemblance with that which Arrian describes. The difference is too remarkable to suppose it to be owing to the ignorance of transcribers.

From what Pliny hath told us, it evidently appears that he had not read either the journal of Nearchus or that of Onesicritus, and in all likelihood he had simply consulted the production of Juba, which was only a compilation from Onesicritus. A comparison of it with the journals of Nearchus will at once prove the difference

ⁱ Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 20.--591.

^k "Indicare convenit, quæ prodit Onesicritus, classe Alexandri circumvectus in Mediterranea Persidis ex India, narrata proxime a Juba: dein eam navigationem, quæ ex his annis comperta servatur hodie. Onesicriti et Nearchi navigatio nec nomina habet mansionum, nec spatia." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--700.

difference of the two works. *Organa* is the single word, which hath not suffered alteration, and been varied by *Onesicritus* or *Juba*: the foundation of a city, whose name is not known and that of *Xilonopolis*, of which *Onesicritus* speaks, are suppressed by *Nearchus*.

Pliny confounds the situation of many countries: the *Orites* are placed before the *Arbians*,¹ and immediately after *Carmania*. But the *Arbians* were in fact situated to the West of the *Indus*, and had the *Orites* on their borders, who had *Gedrosia* to the West, bounded by the vast deserts of *Carmania*. *Onesicritus*, from a jealousy of *Nearchus*, endeavoured to appropriate to himself the discoveries of this Admiral, and made a point of contradicting him. To this source may be traced the variance in his relations, which have been inconsiderately adopted both by *Juba* and by *Pliny*.

Strabo, according to *Monfieur Huet*, “treats the works of *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* as fictions, though he admits, that some truth is blended with their fables.”^m Undoubtedly the Greek geographer classes *Nearchus* with those writers, that have circulated falsities respecting *India*, but he was not the principal object of the observation, and the censure was more particularly applicable

¹ “*Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluvius determinat.*” *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 7. C. 2. Tom. 2.--14.*

^m “*Strabon traite ces ouvrages de fiction; quoique il ne nie point qu’ils soient meles de quelque verité.*” *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 349.*

cable to Megasthenes and Daimachus. ⁿ When he speaks more circumstantially of the journal of Nearchus, it is without any reflection on the authenticity of the work, and some exaggerations of the facts and hyperbolical expressions were principally criticised. These are the common foibles of travellers in general, who sometimes suffer severely in their expeditions, and are often accustomed to magnify objects, from their fears and apprehensions, beyond the just proportion of the real dangers, which they were exposed to. ^o The learned Huet in another part, of his work, does however justice to Nearchus and his journal, when he assures us the memoirs of his expedition were both “useful in commerce and in war.” ^p

Dodwell, in his dissertation on the journal of Nearchus by Arrian, observes that Pliny might have borrowed what he relates, respecting the navigation of Nearchus and Onesticritus, from those authors as well as from Juba’s extract out of the work of Onestri-

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tus,

ⁿ “Διαφεροντως δ’ απισειν αξιον Δημαχω τε κ’ Μεγασθενει.” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.) Yet he had before expressed more than doubts of the writers in general on India, and Nearchus comes in for a share of the censure. “Απαντες μιν τοιουν οι περι της Ινδικης γραψαντες, ως επι το πολυ ψευδολογοι γεινασι, καδ’ υπερβολην δε Δημαχου τα δε δευτερα λεγει Μεγασθενης, Ονησικριτου τε κ’ Νεαρχου, κ’ αλλοι τοιετοι παραψελιζοντες ηδη.” Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.

^o “Ou la crainte plutot que le peril grossit les objets, et qui par cette raison doivent selon Strabon meriter notre indulgence.” I find no traces of the indulgence, which Strabo is supposed to bespeak for these writers. “Εκ μιν εν προς υπερβολην ηδολεσχηκεναι πολλα της πλευσαντες ομως δ’ εν ειρηκασι παραδηλυντες αμα κ’ το παρασαν αυτοις παθος, διоти προσδοκια μαλλον η κινδυνος υπηρχε τοις αληθεσι.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

^p “Utiles pour la guerre et le commerce.” Hist. du Comm. et de la Navig. des. Anciens. 53.

tus,^a but his criticism on the authority of the journal of Nearchus preserved by Arrian appears to be bold as well as exceptionable. It may be proper to examine the evidence that he produces and to comment on it.

I. Neither the city of Arbīs, the rivers Nabrus, Hytanīs, nor in short the port of Argenus or Argenis, mentioned by Onesicritus, are to be found in Arrian, who hath added the distances that he specifies, from the extract of Pliny.

If however, Onesicritus, or rather Juba hath corrupted the names of places and hath even interwoven some suspicious circumstances, the journal of Nearchus is not impeachable on account of their imperfections or mistakes. The truth amidst contradictory assertions is easily discoverable on the examination of other evidence, and all the works of the cotemporary authors having perished, the present situation of places and the affinity between their ancient and modern names are what must be resorted to. Monsieur d'Anville hath incontestably proved the result is in favour of Nearchus. If the distances in Arrian do not
correspond

^a "Dodwel observe judicieusement que Plin n'a tiré tout ce qu'il rapporte de la navigation de Nearque et d'Onesicrite que de l'extrait que Juba avoit fait de l'ouvrage de ce dernier." Dodwell appears to think very differently. "Erant enim sane, præterea ea quæ retulerat ex Nearcho et Onesicrito Juba, et aliæ quoque separatæ utriusque auctoris editiones, etiam ætate Plinii. Hoc inde colligo, quod in auctorum catalogis, e quibus libros operis sui singulos collegit Plinius, occurrit, præter Jubam, scorsim mentio tam Nearchi quam etiam Onesicriti. Quod sane non fuisset necesse, si, quæ de utroque habet Plinius, ea omnia ex solo hausisset Juba." De Arrian. Nearchus apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Vol. 1.-132, 8^{vo} Oxon. 1698.

correspond with those in Pliny, they certainly were not taken from the Roman Naturalist.

II. It is universally allowed that Nearchus and Onesicritus marked their tract by the number of days, which were afterwards reduced into stadia: Juba again reduced them into miles in conformity to the Roman measure.—They gave the relation this semblance of exactness to impose upon the world. Dodwell strengthens the opinion by the authority of Marcian of Heraclea. “Many authors have written in haste with the intention of imposing on their readers, and affected to relate the names of places in nations that are totally unknown, and to ascertain their distance from each other in stadia, but Antiphanes of Bergœa hath surpassed them all in imposture. Those, on the contrary, who acquired a real knowledge of places and the dimensions of the different seas with the ports and cities and their respective distances have composed particular descriptive journals, and appear to have compiled them with fidelity.” —Nearchus is not mentioned in this passage of Marcian, but the concluding sentence may be properly applied to him, and he may be truly classed with the geographers, whose accuracy is taken notice of.

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III.

• “Οἱ δὲ τῆς περιπλῆς προχέσεως γράψαντες, καὶ τῆς ἐντυγχανόντας περιδεῖν ἐθέλοντας τοσπῶν τε προσηγορίας καὶ σταδίων ἀριθμὸν διεξιοῦντες, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιχωρίων ἢ ἐθίων βαρβαρῶν, ὧν οὐδε τις προσηγορίας εἶπεν δύναίτο ἂν τις, αὐτὸν μοι δοκῆσι τὸν Βεργαίου Ἀντιφάνη νενικηκεῖναι τῷ ψευδεῖ· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ μερικὰς τινὰς ἐποίησατο περιπλῶν διηγήσεις· ὧν καὶ τὰ χωρία σαφῶς ἐγινώσκον, καὶ τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς θαλάττης οὐκ ἠγνόουν,

III. The journal of Nearchus was unknown to Agatharcides and Eratosthenes, who had the immense library of Alexandria before their eyes. This work ought therefore to be considered as fictitious. *———If even this negative argument hath any force, it remains to be asked from whence this information is derived. Are we peremptorily to decide at once from the short extract of Agatharcides on the Erythrean sea, which Photius hath left us, and what remains of his Asiatic history † preserved by Athenæus, or from a few mutilated fragments of Eratosthenes, that these authors had never heard of the Periplus of Nearchus?

IV. In the ages immediately after Alexander, the Indus was believed to join the Nile; ‡ if therefore the journal of Nearchus had then existed, this error could not have been adopted. *———Under the same mode of reasoning, it may be insisted, that the works of Herodotus, Aristotle and Diodorus Siculus are suppositions, as we learn from them, that the Caspian sea has no communication with the neighbouring seas, which though erroneous was an opinion,

εν, καὶ πόλεις καὶ λιμένας, καὶ τὰ διασηματὰ τῶν κατὰ μακρὰς ἔσται δοκῶσιν ἢ πανταπασίιν πλεῖστα μετα-
της ἐνδεχομένης ἀληθείας ἐγγεγραφεῖν.” Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus. 63. Apud Geograph. Vet.
Script. Minor. Tom. 1.

* Dodwell de Arriani Nearchi. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. Dissert. 6. Sect. 7.

† Photii Biblioth. 1322. See also 546, 547.

‡ The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Arrian borrowed what he says of the Nile, in the sixth chapter of his Indian History, from Megasthenes, and that the journal of Nearchus only commences at the twenty-first chapter, and from this circumstance the argument cannot possibly apply.

* Dodwell de Arriani Nearchi. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. Dissert. 8.

opinion, adopted in later times.—Truth creeps slowly forward into approbation and esteem, whilst even errors supported by ancient prejudices and sometimes by vanity, preserve their influence for years.

V. The Periplus of Nearchus was probably fabricated under the reigns of the last Ptolemies, as Antiphanes of Bergæum, Antonius Diogenes, and Euemerus of Messina, published about this period many fabulous relations.[†]

Such an argument has little strength, and it may be difficult to point out any relation whatever between the Periplus of Nearchus and the sacred history of Euemerus.

From a want of evidence, Arrian is overwhelmed with injurious epithets, and the Jesuit Harduin hath treated him with as little civility.[‡] Yet their joint efforts cannot depreciate the authenticity and merit of a work, which carries internally the powerful impression of fidelity, and proves in every circumstance the accuracy of its author. There is a minute exactness, which is a sort of decisive deposition in favour of authentic journals, that is not to be found in the romantic and fictitious tales of imaginary adventures. The Periplus of Nearchus may be
tried

[†] Dodwell de Arriani Nearchi. Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Dissert. 6.--139, 140.

[‡] "Hominis mirare in mendaciis confingendis audaciam." Not. in Plin. Hist. Nat. Tom. 1.

tried by this criterion, and the whole of it, from the departure of the Macedonian fleet when it quitted the island of Sangada to its arrival at the mouth of the river Arabis or Arabius, is so very circumstantial as to leave its authenticity unquestionable.

“When the wind was abated, they again put to sea, and having failed about sixty stadia further, came to a sandy coast, before which was a certain desolate island named Domas; which, by its situation, formed a haven, but as the water upon the coast was all brackish, they travelled about twenty stadia up a level country, where they found water sweet and pleasant; and failing all the next day, in the evening they came to a country called Saranga, about three hundred stadia from their former station, where they went on shore, and found good water, about eight stadia from their landing-place. Thence, they renewed their voyage and arrived at Sacala, a country wholly uninhabited; whence, they passed between two rocks, so near each other, that the blades of their oars touched them on both sides at once. When they had failed three hundred stadia, they came to Morontobara, where is a large, spacious, safe and commodious haven; but the entrance into it is narrow and rocky: this the natives called the Women’s Haven, from a certain woman, who first reigned in that place. Having passed the rocks with some difficulty, they came into the open sea again, and continuing their voyage left a certain island on their left hand, which is so near joining to the main land, that the channel, which separates them, seems to have been cut through.
That

That day they sailed about seventy stadia. The shore, all along the Continent, was full of thick woods, and the island opposite thereto, was also woody. About break of day they departed thence, and passed through the above-mentioned channel, by the help of the Tide, and after a course of one hundred and twenty stadia, arrived at the mouth of the river Arabius, where they found a large and safe harbour, but no fresh water, because the Tide flows a great way up the river, and makes it brackish; wherefore, passing about forty stadia up the river, they came to a lake, the water of which being sweet, they took what they wanted, and returned. The island, opposite to this haven, is high land, and uncultivated, but round it are vast quantities of oysters, and all kinds of fish, which makes it to be frequented by fishermen. 'Thus far the country of the Arabii extends itself, being the last part of India, that way, for the Oritæ inhabit the other side of the river.'^a

Nearchus describes with the same minuteness his navigation from the mouths of the Indus to that of the Euphrates where his voyage ended. If he did not enter into the same details respecting the coast of Susia, the modern Khosistan, it arose from the difficulty of approaching the land with safety on account of the shoals and shallows.^b Pietro della Valle tells us that he sailed at some distance from this track, and found a shoal with four fathom water,

^a Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2. C. 22.--245.

^b "Τὴν χώραν τε γὰρ τεναγώδεα τε εἶναι τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ἐρηχίησιν ἐπὶ μέγα εἰς τὸν πόντον ἐσεχέσαν καὶ ταύτην σφαλερὴν ἐγκαθορμιζέσθαι πελαγίοισιν, ὥν σφισι τὴν κομίδην το πολὺ γίνεσθαι." Arrian. Hist. Indic. C. 41.--631.

ter, which stretched to a considerable extent: the Persians term this part of the Persian gulph Meidan, and the land is so low that it is not visible but at a very little distance.^c On the plan of Monsieur d'Anville, and with the advantage of his researches, a great resemblance is perceptible between the ancient description of the different places mentioned in the journal of Nearchus, and their present appearances. This able geographer hath proved to demonstration the accuracy of Nearchus from a comparison of all the Oriental and European memoirs that treat of the several places, which the Macedonian fleet touched at, when they ranged along the coasts of Carmania, Persia, and Susia. Monsieur d'Anville's memoirs on the Persian gulph will not admit of being analysed: and his opinion of the journal of Nearchus shall be only cited. "Circumstances, which apply to the precise situation of places, and the resemblance of ancient names with those, that still subsist, and are not to be elsewhere met with, do not admit of a suspicion of fraud or fiction, and there are few ancient geographical memoirs, which will so well stand the test of a comparison with even the real knowledge of them."^d

Yet it would be in vain to dissemble that Nearchus hath intermingled some fables in his journal. Amidst their number, the stories

^c Memoire de Monsieur d'Anville. Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 30.--168.

^d "L'application des circonstances qu'il renferme au local actuel, le rapport que des dénominations de lieux qui ne se rencontrent point ailleurs, ont avec celles qui subsistent, ne souffrent aucun soupçon de supposition; et il y a peu d'autres memoires geographiques de l'antiquité, qui

ries of men, who cut up fish and wood with their nails; ^c who built and covered their houses with the larger bones of whales, and employed the lefs in the formation of their domestic utensils, ^f and also that of the island of Nofala, inhabited by one of the Nereids, ^g are to the last degree exceptionable. These fables, however, ought not to affect the work itself, and should be considered rather as poetical and imaginary episodes, corresponding with the Grecian taste, which was always more partial to the charms of fictitious scenery, than the chaster compositions of rigid truth.

The Macedonian fleet failed, according to Arrian, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, in the eleventh year of Alexander's reign, when Cephisodorus was Archon at Athens, ^h whose magistracy is notwithstanding fixed by Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and by most of the chronologists in the year after Alexander's death. It seems then a mistake, and Arrian ought to have related this voyage under the Archonship of Anticles,

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cles,

qui soutiennent mieux la comparaison avec une connoissance positive du local." *Recherches Geograph. sur le Golfe Perlique. Acad. des Inscript. Tom. 30.--133.*

^c "Τοις γὰρ δηνουξιν ὅσα σιδηρῶ διαχρασθαι ἐλεγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἰχθύας τῆτοισι παρὰσχιζόντις κατεργαζισθαι, καὶ τῶν ξυλῶν ὅσα μαλακώτερα." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 24.--600.

^f "Χρησθαι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀνδρωποῖσιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἶναι ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλευρῇσιν αὐτῶν ὄσια, δοκῆς τοῖσιν οἰκημασιν ὅσα μεγάλα· τὰ δὲ μικρότερα, σρωτήρας." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 30.--612.

^g "L' habitation des Nereides." "Οἰκῆσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν Νηρηίδων." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 31.--613.

^h Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 21.--592.

cles, the fourth year of the one hundred and thirteenth Olympiad, and three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ, which will be the eleventh year of Alexander's reign. Corfini hath given a very satisfactory solution of this difficulty, and supposes Cephifodorus to have succeeded Anticles, who might have died, or been displaced during his year of office,¹ and the necessity of this correction is evident from the manuscripts in the late French King's library, which concur in the expression of Cephifodorus.—It is also an established fact, that Nearchus finished his naval expedition before the death of Alexander.

Pliny informs us that Nearchus was employed seven months in his expedition, and was three months at sea.^{*} Many reasons may be conceived to have occasioned the length of time taken up in this voyage. The construction of the vessels of the Ancients, which were in general small, and of much less dimensions than those of our days, rendered them incapable of weathering any heavy seas or violent gales, and as they had fewer sails, they consequently made less way.¹ They rarely also ventured out of the sight of land, but coasted regularly, and this mode of navigation must

¹ Corfini. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 9. Tom. 2.--30, 31. Tom. 4.--52.

^{*} "Alexandrum invenerunt septimo mense, postquam digressus ab iis fuerat Patulis, tertio navigationis. Sic Alexandri classis navigavit." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--703.

¹ We learn from Marcianus of Heraclea it was a received opinion, that a vessel might run seven hundred and sometimes even nine hundred stadia in a day, with a favourable wind, though others did not exceed five hundred. "Ὁμολογημένοι γὰρ τεὸν ὅτι ἑπτακοσίαις βρισηδρομῶσα ναὺς δια μί-

must have been very tedious. The Macedonian fleet, it must be recollected likewise, had to pass through unknown seas, and without proper pilots they could not venture to pursue their track in the night and in the dark. These were great impediments, and the progress of the voyage was retarded by the contrary winds, which they had to encounter in their passage.

Montesquieu supposes that the Macedonian fleet had to struggle with the Monsoons, and that it failed in July, ^m a season when no European vessel in our days would quit a port in India on a return to Europe. This great writer appears, however, to be mistaken. Nearchus only failed in September, which answers to the Boedromion of the Attic year, and agreeable to Pliny's calculation, he completed his voyage early in the month Munychion, which is our April. During this time it is certain that the storms, which attend the Monsoon are not felt on this side cape Commo-

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ας ανηκει της ημερας, ευροι τις αν η εννακοσις διαδραμυσαν ναυι εκ της των κατασκευασαντων τεχνης το ταχος προσλαβουσιν, η ετεραν μολις πεντακοσις δεικνυσασαν, δια την εναντιαν της τεχνης αιτιαν." Mars, Heracl. Peripl. apud Geog. Veter. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 1.--67.) The Baron de St. Croix taking the stadium at one hundred Toises reckons a vessel of the Ancients might with a favourable wind have made a passage from twenty-three marine leagues and a fraction to thirty in a day, and with a contrary wind, computes it at sixteen.

^m "La flotte d' Alexandre mit sept mois pour aller de Patale a Suze. Elle partit dans le mois de Juillet, c' est à dire, dans un temps ou aujourd'hui aucun navire n' ose se mettre en mer pour revenir des Indes. Entre l' une et l' autre mouçon, il y a un intervalle de temps pendant lequel les vents varient; et où un vent de hord, se melant avec les vents ordinaires, cause, surtout aupres de côtes, d' horribles tempêtes. Ce la dure les mois de Juin et Juillet, et d' Aout. La flotte d' Alexandre, partant de Patale au mois de Juillet, essuya bien des tempêtes, et le voyage fut long, parcequ' elle navigea dans un mouçon contraire." Montesquieu, de l' Esprit des Loix. Lib. 21. C. 9. Tom. 1.--490, 491.

rin, and are confined to the months of May, June, July, and August.

The evidence of Arrian is very peremptory on the departure of the fleet. "As soon therefore as the Etesian or anniversary winds ceased, (which on these coasts blow from the sea towards the land the whole summer, and thereby render navigation impracticable during that time) they begun their voyage on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, the eleventh year of Alexander's reign according to the Macedonian and Asiatic computation, when Cephisodorus was Archon of Athens." ^a

But perhaps it may be objected, that if the Monsoon was not contrary, no other winds could have in such a manner retarded their course. On the coasts, however, of Guzarat and in general on all those of India upon this side the mountains of Gate, the winds blow almost constantly out of a Southerly quarter from September to March, and from the coasts of Africa towards India, they regularly decline towards the West in proportion as Asia is approached. ^o The winds were therefore very foul for the Macedonian fleet, whose course lay from East to West, and it is a known principle that the velocity of the air, is increased like a current of water, when its channel is narrowed. Nearchus, from
this

^a Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2.--243. "Οι δα τὰ Ετησια πνευματα εκοιμηθη (α δὴ τὴ θέρῃ τὴν ὥρην πᾶσαν κατεχει ἐκ τῆ πελάγεος ἐπιπνεοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταυτὴ ἀπορον τὸν πλὴν ποιοῦντα) τότε δὴ ὥρμηνο, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντὶ Ἀθηνασι Κηφισοδωρῃ, εἰκαδὶ τῆ βoηδρομιῶν μηνῷ, καθoτι Ἀθηναιοὶ ἀγῃσιν· ὡς δὲ Μακεδoνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἡγον, τὸ ἰνδεκατον βασιλευοντὶ Ἀλεξανδρῃ." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 21.--592.

^o Varen. Geog. C. 21. Propos. 3. See also Dr. Halley. Essay. Philosoph. Transact. 1735.

this last circumstance, on his arrival at the mouth of the Persian gulph, must have found great difficulty, and been much distressed in doubling cape Bendis, now known under the name of Jask. His track must have then been between the North and West,^p and the East and South-East winds must have carried him at a great rate towards the land. Onesicritus here wished to terminate the voyage, but the courage and good conduct of Nearchus surmounted every difficulty and danger. Having repaired his fleet on the banks of the river Anamis,^q at some distance on this side the Island Ogyris now Ormus, he continued his course, notwithstanding the contrary and unfavourable winds to which he was exposed, and put into the river Sitaco,^r the modern Sita-Rhegian, where he employed twenty-one days in caulking and refitting his Squadron.

When the winds shift in these seas from North to South and the collateral points, there are many days, and sometimes months of continual calm and tempests, and it was from these causes that Nearchus was detained. This officer having mentioned in his journal some storm or other, Arrian most probably confounded this accidental gale from the South with the contrary Monsoon or Etesian winds. The currents produced by the West and South-West winds, which set directly against the Macedonian fleet,

^p “Ενθενδε δε ὡσαυτως ηκετι προς ἡλιε δυομενε επλεον* αλλα το μεταξυ δυσι τε ἡλιε κ’ της αρεκτη ε-
τω μαλλον τι αι πωρωαι αυτοισιν επειχον.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 32.--614.

^q Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 33.--616.

^r ————— C. 38.--627.

fleet, were not therefore the least of the impediments that Nearchus had to combat.

The Jesuit Petau^a dates the navigation of Nearchus in the magistracy of Chremes, three hundred and twenty-seven years before Christ, and in the year when Porus was defeated. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, which the learned chronologist followed too implicitly, hath led him into some mistakes. The Greek historian compresses into the Archonship of Chremes^b a croud of events, which could not possibly have happened in such a short space of time, and he also mentions two other Archons, Anticles, and Soficles, before the year of Alexander's death. Corfini^w judiciously observes that the name of Soficles should be effaced, or considered as the name of an Archon substituted in the same year for Anticles, and the conjecture seems in some measure authorized by the text itself as well as Diodorus Siculus, who brings the magistracy of Anticles and also that of Soficles under the Consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Popilius.—^x Diodorus Siculus does not mention any remarkable event during the magistracy of these two Archons, and seems to have referred them all to that of Chremes, in which he fixes the defeat of Porus, that was previous to this Archon, and ought to be dated in the magistracy of Hegemon, whose name in all probability might have been found

^a Doctrin. Temp. Livr. 13.--597, 598.

^b Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229——246.

^w Corfini. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 9. Tom. 2.--31——33. Tom. 4.--49.

^x Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--248.—Corfini. Fast. Attic. Tom. 2. Dissert. 22, 23.

found in the part of the seventeenth book of this historian which is wanting.—The series of later events, and the formal evidence of Arrian leave little doubt of this period.

Hegemon undoubtedly preceded Chremes in the Attic annals, and the navigation of Nearchus ought then to be reckoned in the last year of Alexander's reign, under the Archonship of Anticles or rather Cephisodorus his substitute, and this Archonship included both the events marked by Diodorus Siculus in the magistracy of Soficles, and a part of those in that of Chremes. It appears also that the Greek historian enumerated under Soficles some events, such as the defeat of the Cossæans, ¹ and the entry of Alexander ² into Babylon, which could only have happened in the first eleven months of the year in which Alexander died, when Hegesias was Archon. Diodorus Siculus hath in this manner overturned the entire chronology of the last years of this Prince's reign, and descending to objects of inferior magnitude, his mistakes, as to the time of the navigation of Nearchus, hath been occasioned by his erroneous arrangement of the events which preceded it.

¹ Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—248.—Ufferii Annal. 206, 207.

² ——— Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—248.

T H E E N D.